Lineages of Turkish Power in Early Modern Writing in English

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To Jefferson, with my love

It is highly possible, indeed, that so-called ethnological knowledge is condemned to remain as bizarre and inadequate as that which an exotic visitor would have of our own society. The Kwakiutl Indian whom Boas sometimes invited to New York to serve him as an informant was indifferent to the spectacle of skyscrapers and streets lined with automobiles. He reserved all his intellectual curiosity for the dwarfs, giants, and bearded ladies which were at that time exhibited in Times Square, for automats, and for the brass balls decorating staircase banisters... all these things challenged his own culture, and it was that culture alone which he was seeking to recognize in certain aspects of ours... (Claude Lévi-Strauss)[1]

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[1] Cited by James A. Boon, *Other Tribes, Other Scribes: Symbolic Anthropology in the Comparative Study of Cultures, Histories, Religions, and Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), p. 152.

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Bibliographical Note and List of Abbreviations

1. In the absence of any standard transcription, Ottoman Turkish words not natural to English usage are given in their modern Turkish forms. Exceptions to this occur in titles and quotations that employ alternative spellings, for example André Clot, *Suleiman the Magnificent: The Man, his Life, his Epoch* (the modern Turkish equivalent is 'Süleyman'). The names of Turkish authors also appear in the original orthography.

2. Where I use a Turkish noun or proper noun with reference to its use in a particular primary source, I follow the spelling used by the relevant author. In Chapter Five, for example, on Fulke Greville's *Mustapha*, the discussion of Greville's principal source, Thomas Goughe's translation of a pamphlet by Moffan, uses Goughe's spellings 'Rosa, Solyman'. The discussion of the play itself employs Greville's spellings 'Rossa, Soliman'.

3. In both footnotes and Bibliography, the place of publication for all unedited primary sources is London, unless otherwise stated.

4. In the interests of consistency, I have listed all primary translations under the translator's name in the footnotes and Bibliography. Such works are sometimes referred to by the original author's name in the main text where this is more appropriate to the argument.

5. For all Biblical references, the edition used is *The Holy Bible: Containing the Old and New Testaments, Translated out of the original Tongues* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press). ['Authorized Version']

6. There is one illustration, the Frontispiece to George Sandys's *Relation of a Journey begun An: Dom: 1610* (1615), reproduced preceding Chapter Two.

7. The following abbreviations are used in the footnotes and Bibliography:

BHR	*Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*
EHR	*English Historical Review*
ELH	*English Literary History*
ELR	*English Literary Renaissance*
Glyph	*Glyph: Johns Hopkins Textual Studies*
History	*History: Journal of The Historical Association*
JHI	*Journal of the History of Ideas*
MLR	*Modern Language Review*
MP	*Modern Philology*
PMLA	*Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*
P&P	*Past and Present*
PQ	*Philological Quarterly*
RenQ	*Renaissance Quarterly*
RES	*Review of English Studies*
RQ	*Renaissance Quarterly*
ShS	*Shakespeare Survey*
Sstud	*Shakespeare Studies*
SP	*Studies in Philology*
SQ	*Shakespeare Quarterly*
YES	*Yearbook of English Studies*

Introduction

Orientalism and the construction of Turkish power in the Cultural Imaginary of Early Modern England

1. Postcolonial Early Modern

The Ottoman Turks were of England's cultural others perhaps the most widely written about in the early modern period. The texts devoted to them cover a wide range of literary kinds, including history, drama, travel narrative, religious tract, newsbook, and ballad. This thesis concentrates principally on history writing and drama, addressing the image of the Turks as one of violent power, expressed in their immemorial hostility towards Christians, and in their internal dynastic relationships. The difference of the Turks is closely bound up in early modern writings with their descent, both in relation to distant forbears such as the Saracens and Scythians, and locally within the Ottoman dynasty. In approaching the early modern literature about the Turks as a series of inter-related lineages of power, my main aim has been to trace the relationship between the images of the ancient and modern Ottoman rulers. These two aspects of the early modern sense of the difference of the Turks are signalled by the division of the thesis into two parts, Part One, *The Originall of the Turks*, addressing ancient lineages, and Part Two *The Image of the Othoman Greatnesse*, modern ones.

The current high level of interest in early modern representations of the orient is in part an effect of the wide dissemination of Edward Said's *Orientalism*, first published in 1978.[1] This important book, acknowledged by all serious writers about early modern transculturation in recent years, has proved elusive as a theoretical model, and no major, single-author study of early modern orientalism has yet appeared. The themes of lineage and power which I have chosen as a means of approach to the early modern literature about the Turks are ones that resonate powerfully with Said's concerns, and I therefore devote the first half of this Introduction to Said.

Orientalism offers a fascinating and problematic model for early modernists, both historically and methodologically. This opening section considers the general question of a 'postcolonial early modern' period, with its attendant opportunities and

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[1] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (Reprinted with a new Afterword by the Author, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1995). All references are to this edition, and are in the text.

dangers. The second section is framed as a consideration of three concepts pertinent both to Said and to the primary texts discussed in this thesis, genealogy, the socio-cultural *ensemble*, and the notion of poetic geography. In each case I have tried to balance recognition of the ways in which the questions posed by the Saidian model are generative ones with a critical interrogation of its limitations, supplementing my discussion of Said with other writers' discussions of *Orientalism*, and of issues parallel to those raised by Said, where appropriate. The third section of the Introduction turns from Said to the existing critical literature specifically addressed to early modern representations of the Turks, outlining the most important areas where I am building on earlier work, and where I am departing from it. The fourth and final section gives a detailed summary of the main arguments of the thesis.

Orientalism owes its extraordinary influence in part to the way it has lent itself to the differing programmes of widely different constituencies. Each appropriation has in some sense been a rewriting, leading Said to refer to the after-life of his book as a 'Borgesian' process of reproduction, in which activists, politicians and scholars in various national and language settings have reformulated its basic positions and methodology for use in polemic or commentary (Afterword, p. 330). This diversity of political deployments of Said is mirrored in the Academy, where *Orientalism* has been seen as foundational across the whole range of sub-disciplines grouped together as 'postcolonial studies'. Said lists anthropology, political science, art history, literary criticism and musicology as among the disciplinary areas touched by *Orientalism* (p. 340), but the list is by no means exhaustive. This thesis is offered in part as a contribution to the many debates about Said conducted among scholars of the literature and culture of early modern England. Its aim is to offer at once a critique of Said from the perspective of early modern literature studies, and a test case for a Saidian type enquiry into early modern orientalism.

Said's project, principally shaped to address a period from the late eighteenth century to the third quarter of the twentieth, cannot be applied to the culture of the pre-modern west without careful consideration of questions of periodicity. It takes as its main concern the attempt to uncover a sense of the mutual implication of knowledge and power in texts of the colonial era. The sixteenth or seventeenth centuries offer no equivalent for the later development of a 'corporate institution for dealing with the Orient' (p. 3). Neither is there any parallel before 1700 for the work Said casts as the

point of departure for high orientalism, Napoleon's massive *Description de l'Egypte* (1809-28), a work which he calls 'the very model of a truly scientific appropriation of one culture by another' (p. 42). Many of the texts interrogated by Said, which include speeches by colonial administrators, studies in comparative philology, romantic travel narratives and documents in cold war period Area Studies, are also ones that do not lend themselves to comparison with early modern forms.

It is not Said's intention however to rule out the idea of a pre-modern orientalism. This is clear from the many passing references to earlier texts that recur throughout Chapters One and Two, and is explicitly stated in the second of the three historical propositions about orientalism set out in the Introduction (pp. 2-4). While the first and third propositions concern academic and administrative institutions that do not date back before the Enlightenment, the second presents orientalism as a phenomenon more or less ubiquitous across the history of the western tradition:

> A style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between 'the Orient' and [...] 'the Occident'. Thus a very large mass of writers, among whom are poets, novelists, philosophers, political theorists, economists, and imperial administrators, have accepted the basic distinction between East and West as the starting point for elaborate theories, epics, novels, social descriptions, and political accounts concerning the Orient, its people, customs, 'mind', destiny, and so on. This Orientalism can accommodate Aeschylus, say, and Victor Hugo, Dante and Karl Marx. (pp. 2-3)

There is an obvious danger of ahistorical simplification in positing orientalism as a sustained and unvaried imaginative mind-set across a historical sweep including Aeschylus's *Persians* and Dante's *Inferno* as well as Marx, and Aijaz Ahmad has characterised Said's interpretations of these earlier texts as mere 'reading modern history back into antiquity'.[2] The basic binary of self and other revealed by the distinction between Occident and Orient is nevertheless, as Said claims, one that can be found in some form across many periods, and has an obvious relevance to early modern representations of the Turks, in which issues of difference are ubiquitous. The question is not whether Said has proved himself a competent reader of pre-modern texts about

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[2] Aijaz Ahmad, *In Theory: Classes, Nations, Literatures* (London: Verso, 1992), p.335, *n* 29. See Said's comments on ancient Greek tragedy, pp. 56-7, and Dante, pp. 68-70.

the orient - I am inclined to argue, with Ahmad, that he has not – but whether it is generally useful to interrogate early modern texts about others in terms of strategies of differentiation. The early modern period has no hypostasised Orient or East, and the otherness of each differentiated group must be considered in terms of specific discursive contours. Acknowledging this *caveat* however, I conclude that Said's characterisation of orientalism as 'a style of thought based upon [...] ontological and epistemological differentiation' is a useful one.

In the Introduction to a recent essay collection on the relevance of postcolonial theories for the medieval period, Jeffrey Jerome Cohen suggests that Said's binary opposition is relevant to 'any time or place where one social group dominates another', a claim that may seem unhelpfully broad.[3] He goes on to nuance this general sense of the postcolonial however in terms that are suggestive for early modern texts about the Turks. Taking the 'post' in 'Postcolonial' in an oppositional rather than a temporal sense, he suggests that the usefulness of postcolonial theory for pre-modern studies lies in its critique of Enlightenment notions of time. Noting that medieval texts typically locate otherness in terms of a recursive, rather than a linear, temporal pattern, Cohen presents the idea of a 'postcolonial middle ages' as a site of resistance to the understanding of time in the modern west, an understanding which typically negotiates difference by elevating the metropolitan culture, identified with progress, over the regressive and marginal colonised other.

Whereas the cultural other of modernity is always interrogated as primitive or atavistic, and hence relegated to the past, early modern texts about the Turks evince a strong present in which the confrontation between self and other occurs within a sacral time-space that insists on co-presence. This strong present is discussed in Chapter One in terms of early modern apocalyptic, a thought-form that preserves the medieval sense of the time of the other as comprehensible within a sacral pattern of history. This temporal inflection of the postcolonial early modern may in fact be said to underpin the whole thesis, which explores early modern histories of the Turks, not in terms of a failure to progress, but as the working out, even where material conditions change, of ancient an unalterable differences.

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[3] Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, ed., *The Postcolonial Middle Ages* (Basingstoke: MacMillan, 2000), p. 3. Subsequent references are in the text.

2. Said and the study of early modern Representations of the Turks.

Genealogies of the Oriental and of Orientalists

A defining moment in the history of orientalism as described by Said occurs where comparative philology uncovers the familial nature of the relationship between cultures: 'There are now families of languages (the analogy with species and anatomical classifications is marked)' (p. 137). This insight signals the emergence of cultural-linguistic category of the Semitic, which is then seen as explaining the nature of the Arabs within an economy that characterises them primarily in terms of a supposed inferiority to the Indo-European. Likening these structures to a 'romantic biology' of language, Said implies that this apprehension of cultural difference within a metaphor of kinship is particular to the Enlightenment (p. 144).

The idea of Islam as a bastard offshoot of Christianity however, also a genealogical way of understanding the difference of Islam, goes back at least to the middle ages, as Said acknowledges (pp. 61-2). So too does orientalism's central conviction that the culture of the other is invariant, the idea that, 'Islam remained forever the Orientalist's idea (or type) of original cultural effrontery' (p. 260). The racial-linguistic classicism of Renan and Massignon, the latter of whom is described by Said as resolutely committed to the idea that the Arab is incapable of 'anthropological variation' (p. 270) suggests that high orientalism is in fact a throw-back to pre-modern ways of constructing cultural difference. Massignon's conviction that, 'in no people more than the Oriental Semites was it possible to see the present and the origin together' (p. 234) echoes a major theme in early modern writing about the Turks, which is obsessively concerned with the tracing of an explanatory origin that will render all subsequent history intelligible. Chapter Two explores writings about the Turks as Scythians that anticipate precisely twentieth century orientalism's perception of the Arabs as originally, and therefore essentially, 'inconsequential nomads possessing no real claim to the land' (p.286). The crucial difference between earlier and later genealogical metaphors of oriental difference is that, where kinship serves in the argument from comparative philology to posit an absolute alterity – Semitic and Indo-European cultures are unrelated, even at the level of their most distant origins – the pre-modern regime traces current antagonism to a perversion or disruption of kinship ties within the Abrahamic Ur-family.

Central in Said's impressive theoretical armoury is his presentation of orientalism as an instance of Foucauldian discourse (Introduction, pp. 3-4). Where Foucault's analysis is rigorously synchronistic however, Said departs from the models suggested by *The Archaeology of Knowledge* and *Discipline and Punish*, adopting a progressive chronology that allows him to trace the history of orientalism as a development.[4] This diachronous approach, which stands in such marked contrast to the Foucauldian model, has led the anthropologist James Clifford to question whether *Orientalism* is in fact a rather conventional exercise in intellectual history, employing genealogy merely as a mask for its traditional concern with 'influences, traditions, authors, objects, styles, concepts, themes'.[5]

Said describes orientalism as a unified discourse primarily in virtue of what he sees as an uninterrupted line of descent linking contemporary exponents of the will-to-power over the orient such as Henry Kissinger or Bernard Lewis to such diverse forebears as Lord Cromer, Flaubert, Renan and even Dante and Aeschylus. According to Said, orientalists authenticate their writings, not by drawing on authentic, first-hand encounter with the orient, but by repeated acts of voluntary filiation which entail the restatement and elaboration of positions from within the existing orientalist *oeuvre*. The primary task for 'colonial discourse analysis' is thus the recovery of occluded lineages of orientalists. The genealogy of orientalists is for Said, like the genealogy of the oriental that they construct, one of arrested development, in which each generation merely reproduces the limits imagined by the discursive founders. It is because of this inability to transcend the origin that orientalist writing appears as a 'system of ideas that can remain unchanged as teachable wisdom [...] from the period of Ernest Renan in the late 1840s until the present in the United States' (p. 6).

In a paradoxical endorsement of Enlightenment values, Said presents this bind as essentially a failure of empiricism: 'What the orientalist does is to confirm the Orient in his reader's eyes; he neither tries nor wants to unsettle already firm conviction' (p. 65). To cast orientalism as anti-empirical in the age of empiricism is to imply that orientalism in fact constitutes a restatement of positions from pre-modern thought, a

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[4] Said, p. 340, brushes off such critiques of the theoretical basis of *Orientalism* as the work of 'academics of a decidedly rigorous and unyielding stripe'.

[5] James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature and Art* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), p. 257, p. 271, *n* 2.

suggestion that Said seems to endorse where he denigrates orientalism by means of an analogy with superstition:

> [Orientalism] shares with magic and with mythology the self-containing, self-reinforcing character of a closed system, in which objects are what they are, of once, for all time, for ontological reasons that no empirical material can either dislodge or alter. (p. 70)

Said's implicit periodisation here opens up a useful avenue of approach to early modern writings about the other, which may be interrogated in a strictly Saidian sense as the dissemination of non-empirical knowledge.

If Said seems to assert that, epistemologically speaking, the orientalism of the colonial period is fully continuous with earlier modes of comprehending the orient, there is nevertheless a problem with extending his model of the genealogy of orientalists to an early modern orientalist *oeuvre*, that of authorial subjectivity. As Clifford suggests, one of the most tangible ways in which Said's latent humanism manifests itself is in his privileging of authors:

> Unlike Foucault, [...] for whom authorial names function as mere labels for discursive statements, Said's authors may be accorded psychohistorical typicality and are often made through their texts to have representative Orientalist experiences.[6]

Clifford's emphasis on the 'psychohistorical' serves to highlight a problematic area for critics of orientalism in the early modern period, which offers no parallel for the sort of psychological-aesthetic individuation Said attributes to Flaubert, Nerval, or Marx. Many of the forms under consideration in this thesis - history writing, for example, cosmography, Biblical exegesis and even travel writing - do not reduce easily to a Saidian succession of individual authors. Early modern constructions of the cultural other, as Stephen Greenblatt has noted in connection with the French cosmographer André Thevet, are intrinsically products of the 'workshop', and best approached as collaborations, or even as disindividuated products of their culture.[7]

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[6] Clifford, p. 269.

[7] Frank Lestringant, *Mapping the Renaissance World: The Geographical Imagination in the Age of Discovery*, trans. by David Fausett, Foreword by Stephan Greenblatt (Berkeley, CA: Polity, in association with Blackwell, 1994), xii.

When commenting on such impersonal writings, it is often hard to establish specific literary-genetic patterns on the basis of intertextual relationships. A given *datum* is often traceable to a wide variety of sources, the particular author's access to texts is often unverifiable, and specific dates are rendered more obscure by the simultaneous circulation of translations and originals. More importantly, the individual mind is less prominent as site of knowledge in the early modern period, in which the promiscuous circulation of information and representations counts for more than the circumscribed network of specific literary borrowings that an author-based approach would entail. In the light of this complexity of ownership in early modern orientalist writing, I have adopted a thematic disposition for this thesis, as against a chronological one based on the succession of authors. The division of chapters is intended to convey a sense of discursive over-lap, rather than of literary succession. Chapters Two and Three, for example, dealing respectively with Christian and Classical accounts of Turkish origins, represent parallel and intersecting constructions of the time-space of the Turks. Their conjunction as expressions of the motivating force of notions of origin in early modern histories of the Turks provides the unity and coherence of Part One.

The division of the thesis into two parts concretises a more significant rupture, which may broadly be described as one between texts of or derived from cosmographic traditions, and texts motivated by observation. Here too though the division is a fluid one: cosmography and observation are not distinct kinds and there is intertextual movement in both directions. Early modern chroniclers even of the most distant pre-history of the Turks always structure their narratives with a view to explicating present realities; equally, present-day accounts by writers who visited Turkey frequently employ traditional knowledges as they interpret what they see. The observations of the Seraglio at Constantinople, and their dramatic analogues, to which we turn in Part Two, are strikingly illustrative of the persistence of prior knowledges, replicating the familial patterning of Christian and Classical narratives, even as they undercut them by jettisoning the notion that Turks' cultural make-up is explained by their primeval nomadism. The distinction between Parts One and Two can perhaps be viewed as corresponding to two economies of scale in ancient history writing, with Part One analogous to the geographical sweep and long time-scale of Herodotus, while Part Two

corresponds to the more localised Thucydidean *Historia sui temporis*.[8] The emphasis of the thesis as a whole thus lies precisely on the refusal of the texts to submit to reduction to a clear chronological development.

The question of periodicity is I believe the central one for early modern scholars committed to the task of historicising Said for their period. Said argues for his shorter period from the end of the eighteenth century on the basis of its tightly-organised disciplinary *régime* and the exalted and universal claims it makes for its axiomatic 'truths'. He does not sufficiently demonstrate that its fundamental procedures are ones specific to the Enlightenment; in fact, as we have seen, his argument frequently tends in the direction of continuism rather than rupture as regards the relationship between medieval or early modern and Enlightenment forms as non-empirical knowledges.

The ambivalence of Said's approach to period is clear from the few passages where Said addresses early modern writings about the orient specifically. One of these occurs in connection with one of the eighteenth texts Said positions as a point of origin for high orientalism, d'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque Orientale*. Said explains d'Herbelot's originality by citing Galland's account of him as the first scholar to attempt 'to form in the minds of his readers a sufficiently ample idea of what it meant to know and study the Orient', in contrast to the narrower grammatical, lexicographical or geographic interests of figures such as Postel and Scaliger (pp. 63-5). Said is correct to note in d'Herbelot's presentation of cultural analysis 'systematically, even alphabetically' a 'new concreteness' (p. 63) in the binary opposition of occidental and oriental. Early modern writing about the cultures later categorised as 'oriental' is characterised by a slippage and overlap of categories that marks it off as distinct in terms of system. What is principally at issue for the study of the early modern period however is not the presentation and forms of a given knowledge, but its operational mode, and in this Said's argument seems to tend more strongly to the idea that there is nothing fundamentally period-specific to orientalism as knowledge from the eighteenth century onwards. This thesis, by concentrating on a narrow range of themes and a relatively narrow period in relation to one specific region, will counter Said's claim that early

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[8] This useful distinction is proposed by V. J. Parry, 'Renaissance historical Literature in Relation to the Near and Middle East', in Bernard Lewis and P. M. Holt, eds., *Historians of the Middle East* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), pp. 282-283.

modern observations of the Orient are everywhere contingent and heterogeneous, and that system appears only with the Enlightenment (p. 51).

The Ensemble

I have suggested that Said's essentially humanistic inflection of discourse cannot easily be squared with Said's avowed model of Foucault's *Archaeology of Knowledge*, where discourse analysis is circumscribed by a pessimistic imperative to 'show why it could not be other than it was'.[9] Ahmad attributes the impact of *Orientalism*, not to its theoretical aspirations, but to its dazzling juxtaposition of seemingly discrete textual forms.[10] Said's method is one that attempts to synthesise conventional emphases of literary study, 'style, figures of speech, setting, narrative devices' (p. 21) with a broader sense of the text as implicated in a complex network of writings. Said refers to the configuration which emerges as 'ensemble' or 'formation' (p. 20), terms which here evoke, not a Marxian sense accommodating analysis of objective, coercive relations between a real east and west within history, but a literary-critical and historical one. As employed by Said, the ensemble enables the individual text to be positioned ambivalently, as at once an entity in itself, coherent and responsive to formalist analysis, and at the same time deriving meaning from its relation to other texts.

Said's negotiation of the different analytic levels emerges as a point of strain in *Orientalism*, which is often pitched at a level of abstraction that presents the individual text as a more or less unnuanced expression of a general tendency of the system of orientalist texts.[11] At other times though, Said seems to tend in a quite opposite direction, treating literary texts with a reverential particularism. The conflict between two incompatible readerly stances leads to what Ahmad describes as a tendency to veer between 'inordinate praise and wholesale rejection', with the former generally reserved for what are presented unproblematically as great works of literature.[12]

During the exact period in which *Orientalism* was disseminated, early modern studies was transformed by a critical movement that offers some instructive parallels to Said's handling of the relationship between literature and culture in *Orientalism*, New

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[9] Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, trans. by A. M. Sheridan Smith (London: Tavistock Publications, 1972).
[10] Ahmad, pp. 176-7.
[11] See Clifford, p. 257.
[12] Ahmad, p. 169.

Historicism. New Historicists, like Said, are concerned with ideas of ensemble, classically presented as a sense of the embeddedness of the particular culture text within a general 'circulation of social energies'.[13]

A defining feature of New Historicist practice has been a commitment to 'contingency, spontaneity, improvisation' in the assembling of a theoretical context for any given project.[14] Theoretical writings are placed alongside major and minor literary canons and other types of cultural and historical documents as if on a level plane, and each is read without express privilege for one kind over another. The resulting collage-effect inevitably invites the reader to probe the critic's delimitation of what is always a potentially inexhaustible field of texts for study. According to a New Historicist account, the theoretical bearings of any project, though ostensibly 'given by the archive itself', in fact constitute an individual critical response to the contours of the body of texts as defined, for which the critic must accept full responsibility.[15] The contrast with *Orientalism* is instructive, given Said's failure to acknowledge the voluntary character of his 'constructed, complex cultural ensembles'.[16] Like New Historicists, and unlike Said, I acknowledge my delimitation of my project, directed towards recovering a stable and intelligible early modern image of 'Turkish power', with its attendant emphases and exclusions, as entirely willed.

While New Historicism employs a sense of the cultural ensemble broadly similar to Said's, its characteristic readings consistently refuse the instrumental account of the relationship between texts and power to which Said's deployment of Foucault leads him in *Orientalism*. Where Said tends to imply that texts are crudely reflective of power, New Historicists frequently present the various texts in the constructed ensemble as linked by contiguity rather than subordination, leading to a sense of the text as simultaneously productive and reflective. As Greenblatt has expressed it in relation to a classic new historicist reading of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 'the [text] creates the culture by which it is created'.[17]

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[13] For an exploration of New Historicism's political bearings in relation to Marxist and postmodernist theories of culture, see Stephen Greenblatt, *Learning to Curse: Essays in Early Modern Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1990), Chapter 8, 'Towards a Poetics of Culture'.
[14] Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt, eds., *Practising New Historicism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), Introduction, p. 4.
[15] Gallaher and Greenblatt, p. 14.
[16] Clifford, p. 260.
[17] Stephen Greenblatt, ed., *Representing the English Renaissance* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1988), Introduction, viii. The reference is to Louis Adrian Montrose's essay '"Shaping Fantasies": Figurations of Gender and Power in Elizabethan Culture', printed in the same volume.

The New Historicist escape from the instrumentalist bind derives in part from the anthropologist Clifford Geertz's notion of culture as text. Geertz's method of anthropological 'thick description' has provided a useful analogue to a literary critical method that addresses the affective as well as the functional, the political as well as the aesthetic.[18] He also emphasises the unfamiliarity of the object in a way that is suggestive for literary and cultural scholars, who must be vigilant in maintaining a sense of the strangeness of the text:

> Doing ethnography is like trying to read (in the sense of 'construct a reading of') a manuscript – foreign, faded, full of ellipses, incoherencies, suspicious emendations, and tendentious commentaries.[19]

Geertz's literary analogy here seems to endorse New Historicism's rehabilitation of the reading of the aesthetic object as an especially significant kind of intervention.[20] The constructed ensemble presented in this thesis encompasses diverse forms, and includes canonical dramas alongside less familiar works. My aim has been to fashion a collage of contiguous elements, acknowledging but not privileging the aesthetic, represented by the plays which form the subject of Chapter Three, Five and Six. Interpreting any early modern text is 'doing ethnography'; in the case of texts about the other, we are dealing with traces that are double removed from the world in which we live now, 'signs and symbols of "others" inscribed in an era which is itself equally an "other"'.[21] I have thus tried to retain a sense of ethnographic strangeness in approaching all the primary materials explored in this thesis.

Poetic Geography

Politically speaking, perhaps the most penetrating critique of *Orientalism* has been that which identifies Said's refusal to acknowledge resistance to the 'cultural power' of the

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[18] Gallagher and Greenblatt, pp. 8, 16.
[19] Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), p. 10. Greenblatt discusses material from this chapter in *Marvellous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991), pp. 3-6. For Geertz's influence on new historicism more generally, see Gallagher and Greenblatt, pp. 20-30.
[20] See, for example, Greenblatt, *Learning to Curse*, Ch. 9, 'Resonance and Wonder'.
[21] Boon, James A., *Other Tribes, Other Scribes: Symbolic Anthropology in the Comparative Study of Cultures, Histories, Religions, and Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), p. 156. The sense of ethnographic wonder is also signalled by the quotation from Boon which forms the Epigraph of this thesis.

west as politically quiescent.[22] In dealing only with western writings, Said seems to corroborate even as he attacks the contention of western writers that the orient cannot represent itself, implying a non-west entirely passive, emptied both of cultural energy and of the will to resist. He thus magnifies the power of a monolithic west, patently flying in the face of colonial history, in which the power of the coloniser never went entirely unchallenged.

The ease with which Said's project lends itself to construction as an amplification of the west's most outrageous claims on its own behalf surfaces not only in his failure to acknowledge resistance from without, but in the internal contours of the geographical east and west as he construes them. Clearly a far-reaching intervention such as Said's could not include the whole of western writing about the orient; equally though, Said's cursory references to areas that he has passed over indicate significant *lacunae.* As Clifford notes, Said's choices about what to exclude from his constructed east and west are far from being value-free.[23] As regards the occident, his coarse latter day inflection of the *translatio imperii*, in which British and French orientalist canons in the era of high colonialism are supplanted during the cold war period by American Area Studies, allows him to pass over the texts generated by the French involvement in Algeria during the 1950s, a site of resistance that would potentially disrupt his notion of an unbroken continuity in orientalist discourse from the eighteenth century to the present day. The exclusion of writings in German seems similarly partial; Clifford suggests that they are absent simply because 'too disinterested' in relation to the polemic purpose of *Orientalism.*[24]

The exclusions from the geographical occident are at least acknowledged briefly at the beginning of the Introduction (p. 17). As regards the orient, what is left out typically surfaces only within the lists of which Said is an inveterate compiler, and which Ahmad slyly notes as 'complied in the genre of postmodern pastiche'.[25] An example of Said's summary dismissal of geographical areas deemed peripheral or irrelevant occurs where he addresses the relevance of Japan to his thesis:

> Islam excepted, the Orient for Europe was until the nineteenth century a domain with a continuous history of

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[22] See Ahmad, p. 172.
[23] Clifford, p. 267.
[24] Clifford, p. 267.
[25] Ahmad, p. 203.

> unchallenged Western dominance. This is patently true of the British experience in India, the Portuguese experience in the East Indies, China, and Japan, and the French and Italian experiences in various regions of the Orient. There were occasional instances of native intransigence to disturb the idyll, as when in 1638-1639 a group of Japanese Christians threw the Portuguese out of the area; by and large, however, only the Arab and Islamic orient presented Europe with an unresolved challenge on the political, intellectual, and for a time, economic levels. (pp. 73-7)

It was in fact the imperial government, rather than a 'group of Japanese Christians' who expelled the Portuguese, and 'the area' in question was in fact the whole of Japan, from which foreigners were forcibly excluded, with the sole exception of commercial access to a single city, until the Meiji Restoration of 1868. We may wish to question both on what grounds Said dismisses 'native intransigence' *per se*, and what prompts him to characterise the act of a non-western imperial government in these terms.

The partiality suggested by Said's exclusion of any detailed reference to the Far East is even more apparent in relation to the geographical area he takes as both representative and constitutive of western notions of the Orient, the Arab-speaking 'Bible lands' of the Middle East. At the heart of this region, and for most of Said's major epoch from the late eighteenth century to the twentieth, we confront in the Ottoman Empire a major non-conformity to Said's image of ubiquitous western dominance. References to the Ottomans, brief and few, occur only locally to stress Turkish decline, debility and weakness in the period of European expansionism in the region, with no acknowledgement from what strength the decline occurred. Rather than considering what the Ottoman factor may mean for the project of *Orientalism*, Said merely allows Turkey to flash into visibility at strategic moments without any sense of a geographical-historical context. In relation to the Napoleonic invasion of Egypt, for examples, Said notes merely that the British and French at the end of the eighteenth century found the Ottoman Empire in an accommodating 'comfortable senescence' (p. 77), and then, in a puzzling aside, that, 'Napoleon used Egyptian enmity towards the Mamelukes and appeals to the revolutionary idea of equal opportunity for all to wage a uniquely benign and selective war against Islam' (p. 82). Said omits to mention that the Mamelukes were clients of the Ottomans, and had governed Egypt from 1517, concluding with the puzzlingly understated comment that the Caireans 'chose Napoleon over Mamelukes' (p. 82). The occlusion of the Ottoman Empire which serves to qualify

Said's thesis in relation to the shorter orientalist epoch is doubly problematic in relation to the longer one. To claim, as Said does, that 'the Anglo-French-American experience of the Arabs and Islam [...] for almost a thousand years together stood for the Orient' (p. 17) is simply untenable. 'Arab' does not feature as a prominent category in medieval or early modern writing, and nor does 'Islam' *per se*. Early modern writers, reluctant to accord Islam the status of a religion in the fullest sense, generally choose a terminology reflecting the dominant world power within Islam. References in early modern history are thus generally either to the Saracens, understood as Muhammad's first converts, and dominant among the followers of the Prophet until the rise of the Ottomans, to 'Mahometists', or, most commonly, to Turks.

The early modern interest in the Turks seems to lie always just outside Said's field of vision, an unstated presence in his various summaries of stereotypes of what the oriental represented. Discussing a speech about the Egyptian situation made in the House of Commons by Arthur James Balfour in June, 1910, Said informs us that:

> The choice of 'Oriental' was canonical; it had been employed by Chaucer and Mandeville, by Shakespeare, Dryden, Pope, and Byron. It designated Asia of the East, geographically, morally, culturally. One could speak in Europe of an Oriental personality, an Oriental atmosphere, an Oriental tale, Oriental despotism, or an Oriental mode of production, and be understood. (pp. 31-32)

Said's characterisation of Balfour's imperial confidence about the essence of the oriental is marked by an interesting slippage, in which critique merely reproduces the original obfuscation. Said's gestural sweep collapses the Ottoman into a hypostasised Orient that silently incorporates features such as 'oriental despotism' that in fact belong to the west's response to Turkish power.[26] The insistent reiteration of 'Orient [...] Oriental' in this passage illustrates what Clifford describes as a tendency to redundancy in Said's formulations, as in the statement that 'Orientalist discourse "Orientalises the Orient"'.[27] In the interests of preserving his monolithic Occident, Said must omit any discussion of the specific history or contours of the tropes about the Orient which he rehearses.

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[26] I return to this aspect of Said in Chapter Seven, which addresses the question of periodicity with reference to the modulation from the early modern notions of Turkish tyranny to the Enlightenment image of the oriental despot.
[27] Clifford, p. 260.

If Clifford is correct to stress Said's body of texts as a 'constructed, complex, cultural ensemble', the same is true of his geographical field. Rather than being simply 'out there', Said's Orient is what John Gillies refers to, following Vico, as a 'poetic geography', in which the term 'poetic' bears implications, not of imaginative whimsy, but of the purposive force of *poiein*, 'to make'.[28] If the imagined geography of Turkish power presented in this thesis is in this sense made, and hence voluntary, it does at least conform to a national-religious-dynastic entity within the relevant primary texts, unlike the Orient of Chaucer, Mandeville, Shakespeare and Byron evoked by Said.

3. Some Issues in the Wider Literature about early modern Representations of the Turks.

Genealogies of Enlightenment

Ahmad sees Said's project as originating in Enlightenment values of 'tolerance, accommodation, cultural pluralism and relativism'.[29] Whereas liberal humanism is a residual element in Said, it dominates accounts of early modern representations of the Turks before the last quarter of the twentieth century, and is also expressed in medieval studies by R. W. Southern's study of representations of Islam in chapters devoted to an 'Age of Ignorance', a 'Century of Reason and Hope', and finally a 'Moment of Vision'.[30] Writers concerned primarily with the growth of tolerance in attitudes towards the Turks position their various epiphanic moments differently. Orhan Burian claims that the decisive move towards accommodation occurs where travel literature comes to dominate over sedentary history writing: 'Once the traveller sets foot on [the Turks'] land he half forgets his animosity, and becomes interested and excited by what is strange and different in this people. Their manners, customs, the setting of their lives appeal to his fancy'.[31] For Norman Jones, it is the first English Arabists' familiarity with the text of the Koran that heralds the process of enlightenment, with Bedwell's

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[28] John Gillies, *Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 4-7.
[29] Ahmad, p. 164.
[30] R. W. Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962).
[31] Orhan Burian, 'Interest of the English in Turkey as Reflected in English Literature of the Renaissance', *Oriens*, 5 (1952), 209-229, p. 228.

Mohammedis Imposturae (1615) seen as 'genuinely learned and, within the limits of the polemic, sympathetic to the Muslim point of view'.[32] Rouillard's compendious study of French sources on the Turks to 1660 is everywhere marked by the desire to uncover evidence of tolerance and respect, values that he sees as surfacing occasionally in sixteenth century texts, and fully emergent in those of the mid-seventeenth.[33] Even where no strict periodisation is implied, it is common for critics to praise statements that express admiration for the Turks, and to censure condemnations.

Such readings are predicated on a positive faith in the relationship between humanism and ethnography in the Enlightenment period. James Boon states a persuasive case for viewing this faith as misplaced in his discussion of the Frontispiece to J. P. Bérenger's *Collection*, a visual text showing an encounter between a soldier in European dress and a giant Patagonian that he believes exposes the myth of impartial ethnography:

> That encounter (and others like it) never precisely happened. Yet the inevitable 'misrepresentation' – there never were any giant Patagonians nor generally enlightened European emissaries – cannot be explained by simple empirical error. Rather the explanation lies in the fact that cultures meet indirectly, according to conventional expectations of the cultures themselves.[34]

Early modern scholars such as those cited above, in implying that European writing about the other was steadily advancing towards a condition of disinterested concern for the other, are engaged in the attempt to locate their texts within a teleology whose consummation as a value-free ethnography in fact never arrived, and least of all in the era of the Enlightenment.

Positive statements about the other in early modern texts, no less than hostile ones, are clearly involved with the 'conventional expectations' of the writer's home culture. To read an early twenty-first century commitment to multi-culturalism back in to earlier texts is therefore likely to produce no more than a reflection of the critic doing the reading. Lucette Valensi has warned against a critical practice which pits 'works that

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[32] Norman L. Jones, 'The Adaptation of Tradition: The Image of the Turk in Protestant England', *East European Quarterly*, 12 (1978), 161-75, p. 171.
[33] Clarence Dana Rouillard, *The Turk in French History, Thought and Literature, 1520-1660*, [no trans. on title page] (Paris: Boivin and Co., 1940).
[34] Boon, ix.

stem from the medieval tradition' against 'those prefiguring eighteenth century philosophy'.[35] In view of the complex nature of early modern writings about the Turks, and the difficulty of translating the values of their writers into the terms of my own, I have therefore tried to avoid moralising commentary on the primary texts examined in this thesis, concentrating instead on the construction of the difference of the Turks as it has emerged from the interrelationship between the texts within my constructed ensemble.

Colonial Early Modern

In the special Issue of *Early Modern Literary Studies* for September, 1998, Joanne Woolway Grenfell presents a bibliography of materials relevant to the study of early modern geography.[36] Such a list can never be fully comprehensive, but we can deduce certain clear trends in work on geographical topics in the 1980s and 1990s that are relevant to the present study. The predominant focus among the titles Grenfell lists is on the Atlantic world, particularly the colonisation of Ireland and the Americas. We note immediately that this was also a productive period for studies of cartography, with several publications addressing the early modern mapping of England in general, and chorography in particular. Alongside the vibrancy of these areas, the Mediterranean world is conspicuous largely by its absence from Grenfell's two hundred or so titles, the main exception being a handful of publications addressing geographical issues in Mediterranean plays such as *Tamburlaine*, *Othello*, and, more controversially, *The Tempest*.

Since the late 1990s, the balance has begun to alter somewhat, with articles, monographs, and anthologies appearing from Nabil Matar, Daniel Vitkus, Kenneth Parker, Ivo Kamps and Jyotsna Singh, and others.[37] In addressing themselves to an area neglected by the previous decades' invaluable work in early modern cultural geography, these writers are responding, not merely to critical fashion, but to the literary out-put of the period, in which texts about the Mediterranean Old World far out-numbered texts about the New: Paul Coles notes that over eighty books about the Turks were printed in

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[35] Lucette Valensi, *The Birth of the Despot: Venice and the Sublime Porte*, trans. by Arthur Denner (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993), p. 57.
[36] Joanne Woolway Grenfell, 'A Bibliography of Secondary Texts Relating the Early Modern Literature and Geography', *Early Modern Literary Studies*, 4.2, Special Issue 3 (September, 1998), URL http://purl.oclc.org/emls/04-2/woolbibl.
[37] Relevant works by these writers are listed in the Bibliography.

English between 1480 and 1609, with less than half that number focused on the Americas. Valensi estimates, citing Carl Göllner, that Europe as a whole produced about a thousand texts on the Ottoman Empire between 1501 and 1550, and more than two thousand, five hundred between 1551 and 1600.[38]

The dominance of the Mediterranean Old World, including the Muslim world, is also felt in works that survey regions and histories. The most important cosmographies, many of which enjoyed a huge dissemination across Europe, are often neglectful of the discoveries: Turkey occupies the longest section of Münster's *Cosmographia*, for example. In English, George Abbot's hugely popular *Briefe Description of the Whole Worlde* (1599) places great emphasis on Scythia, Tartaria and Turkey, and deals with the Americas only relatively perfunctorily.[39] Margaret Hodgen notes that Bodin, ranked with Machiavelli as one of the most important early modern comparative political theorists 'barely mentions America' (p. 114).

Addressing the relative neglect of the 'discoveries' in the early modern period, Clarence J. Glacken suggests that the geographical understanding reflected in the period's most prestigious geographical texts reflects the continued dominance of old knowledges much later than critics have sometimes assumed:

> It is significant that an important thinker [such as Bodin], writing almost seventy-five years after the discovery of America, still bases his arguments on classical and contemporary European [including Turkish] evidence.[40]

The significance of Bodin's relative indifference to the New World may indicate more than conservatism when we consider the prominence of Turkish questions in international relations in Europe from the 1520s until about the end of the seventeenth

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[38] Paul Coles, *The Ottoman Impact on Europe* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1968), p. 152; Valensi, *n* 118, p. 111. See Margaret T. Hodgen, *Early Modern Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1964), p. 113, for a comparison of numbers of books about Turkey and the Americas produced in sixteenth century modern France. Subsequent references to Hodgen are in the text.

[39] For the extent and nature of early modern textual production relating to the Ottoman Empire and the Islamic Near East in general, see Edward Godfrey Cox, *A Reference Guide to the Literature of Travel Including Voyages, Geographical Descriptions, Adventures, Shipwrecks and Expeditions*, 3 vols. (Seattle, WA: The University of Washington, 1935) Vol. 1, The Old Word, Ch. 8; E. G. R. Taylor, *Tudor Geography, 1480-1583* (London, Methuen, 1930), Appendix I and *Late Tudor and Early Stuart Geography, 1583-1650* (London: Methuen, 1934), pp. 177-298; John Parker, *Books to Build an Empire* (Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1965), Bibliography.

[40] Clarence J. Glacken, *Traces on the Rhodian Shore: Nature and Culture in Western Thought from Ancient Times to the End of the Eighteenth Century* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1967), p. 435.

century. As Frank Lestringant points out in a discussion of the French cosmographer André Thevet, the dominance of Old World geographies merely reflects the emphasis in the political consciousness of the period.

> [Historian, Geoffroy] Atkinson shows the relatively minor importance of the reception of the discovery of America in the Renaissance, compared to an eastern horizon of expectations that was actually enhanced at the time by the peaking ascendancy of Ottoman power.[41]

The purpose of trying to trace the geographical sensibility, expressed in the period's most sophisticated formulations is not to form an assessment of the conservatism or modernity of particular writings, but to explore the means by which old knowledges could be transformed and adapted to the most pressing present realities.

The sheer number of words early modern writers devote to Turkey as against the New World is no sure guide to cultural importance, and there is nothing to be gained by scholarly haggling over the relative importance of these different others. I have drawn attention to the recent trends in early modern English literary and cultural study because there is a danger that early modern scholars interested in the relatively new area of representations of the Turks may be steered by the dominance of earlier work to present English relations with Turkey as proto-colonial. Such a tendency is undoubtedly compounded by the influence of *Orientalism*, which, as Ahmad notes, frequently implies that cultural production directed towards other peoples is merely an 'ideological corollary of colonialism'.[42] Whatever the arguments regarding the interpretation of literature from the colonial period, and of nascent English colonialism in Ireland or the Americas, any approach to representations of the Turks predicated on a colonial will-to-power departs radically from what the texts themselves say about the Turks.[43]

New Materialisms

The example of the recent generation's critical work on the Americas has also given rise to a tendency to exaggerate the newness of Turkey as perceived by early modern writers

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[41] Lestringant, p. 2.
[42] Ahmad, p. 181.
[43] See for example Emily C. Bartels, *Spectacles of Strangeness: Imperialism, Alienation and Marlowe* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), Ch. 3, 'East of England: Imperialist Self-Construction in *Tamburlaine, Parts 1&2*'.

from the late Elizabethan period onwards, which, with the revival of English commercial dealings with the Ottomans in the 1580s, has been presented as a sort of rediscovery of Turkey. The third group of writings from which I wish to distinguish my own work is a strand of materialism which elevates commerce as a mode of cultural contact to a position of centrality in early modern English and European relations with the Ottomans, arguing that the intensification of relationships of trade and diplomacy in the early modern period somehow superseded the traditional discourses of alterity.

An early and eloquent expression of this approach is Lisa Jardine's essay 'Strains of Renaissance Reading', in the special edition of *ELR* published for the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Journal in 1995. Jardine poses some interesting questions about the impact of the New Historicism, particularly as regards the continuing prestige of the individual subject and of the aesthetic work as its privileged domain in Greenblatt's early work. Jardine advances her argument by offering a searchingly materialist commentary on Holbein's 'The Ambassadors', a reading which consciously addresses what she sees as Greenblatt's rather traditional and humanistic account in *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*.[44]

The climax of Jardine's account of 'The Ambassadors' comes where she draws attention to the presence of a Turkish commodity, the carpet covering the table on which the two sitters are leaning, which leads her to some strong claims about early modern commerce and diplomacy and their bearing on the culture of early modern Europe:

> The Ottoman rug which covers the upper shelf of the table [...] and links the resting arms (and perhaps the political intrigues) of de Dinteville and de Selve reminds us that the only other Empire [than that of the Hapsburgs] to be reckoned with in the 1530s was that of the Turks. [...] Not only was the Ottoman Empire a military force to be reckoned with; under Suleiman it was a cultural and intellectual power on a par with any in Western Europe, and the main source of high-quality luxury goods, from the Ottoman-manufactured silks, gems, carpets and metalwork, to the porcelains, dyes and spices imported into the West from China and India by way of Istanbul. In spite of a public rhetoric of hostility to the Turks and 'infidels', most of Europe was on trading terms with the Ottomans. (pp. 303-4)

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[44] Lisa Jardine, 'Strains of Renaissance Reading', *ELR*, 25 (1995), 289-306, pp. 295 ff. Subsequent references are in the text. My response to Greenblatt's heavily subjectivist account of Tamburlaine in *Renaissance Self-Fashioning* is essentially similar to Jardine's of his reading of 'The Ambassadors'.

Jardine argues for a new mode of historicism that, turning away from the emphasis on subjectivity that contemporary Renaissance and early modern studies has inherited from Burckhardt, will focus more on material relations, and in particular on commerce and diplomacy. One of the results of such a shift, she predicts, will be the rethinking of the history of east-west relations, uncovering 'a Europe in whose dealings the Empire of Islam is fully incorporated, even though occluded from the official rhetoric' (p. 306). This internationalist quality in the European Renaissance is asserted repeatedly in Jardine's subsequent publications as undermining the notion that relations with the Ottomans were conditioned by enmity. A similar account is also advanced by one of Jardine's collaborators, Jerry Brotton,[45] and re-occurs in an important recent essay on English travels in the Ottoman Empire, whose title, 'Trafficking with the Turks' is suggestively modelled on commerce as a form of cultural encounter.[46] The passage from 'Strains of Renaissance Reading', cited above, sets out the essentials of this type of materialist approach, and is thus worth examining in some detail.

Characteristic of Jardine's method here and in similar passages in *Worldly Goods* (London: Macmillan, 1996) and *Global Interests: Renaissance Art between East and West* (London: Reaktion, 2000) is a tendency to interpret the exchange of objects as constituting a hybridisation of western culture that serves to undermine its claims to purity and self-completeness. The leap from telling detail to cultural generality is however a perilous one. Jardine's specific point about the significance of the 'Ottoman rug' is thrown into doubt by a recent monograph on Holbein's painting that shows the carpet to be of Armenian Christian design, and knowable as such not least by the prominent Greek crosses which decorate the border.[47]

While not disputing the cultural power and importance of Turkey in the 1530s, I cannot see how it is helpful to make a judgement about the standing of the Ottoman Empire as an 'intellectual power' relative to Europe, nor is it immediately obvious how the importance of Constantinople as an *entrepôt* enhances the sense of Ottoman cultural

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[45] See particularly *Trading Territories: Mapping the Early Modern World* (London: Reaktion, 1997), Ch. 3, 'Disorientating the East: The Geography of the Ottoman Empire'.
[46] Daniel Vitkus, 'Trafficking with the Turk: English Travellers in the Ottoman Empire during the Early Seventeenth Century', in Ivo Kamps and Jyotsna Singh, eds., *Travel Knowledge: European 'Discoveries' in the Early Modern Period* (New York: Palgrave, 2001).
[47] John North, *The Ambassadors' Secret: Holbein and the World of the Renaissance* (London: Hambledon and London, 2002), pp. 152, 154.

power. Her account of early modern diplomacy as a forum in which 'the Empire of Islam is fully incorporated' within Europe seems to me similarly inflationary. Jardine's position seems to be that the 'traffic' in goods and ideas constitutes the authentic base of relations, on which the whole 'official rhetoric' of fear and hatred is merely an imposed and illusory super-structure. This celebratory attitude to commerce as contact is even more pronounced in subsequent works by Jardine that invoke the rhetoric of global neo-imperialism to celebrate in the Renaissance 'the seeds of our own exuberant multiculturalism and bravura consumerism'.[48]

Psychological themes

In relation to *Tamburlaine* (Chapter Three) and *Mustapha* (Chapter Five), I have questioned a critical tradition that fails to recognise in canonical dramas based on oriental history any real engagement with a distinct and fully-realised other. What is at stake in my readings of these works, and in other chapters, is the role of what the geographical historian Theodore Glacken refers to as 'antiphonal themes', those areas where texts about the other trace the contours of internal and domestic debates. I start from an assumption that there is no absolute alterity, and that all the questions asked of the other by representation are questions arising from within the culture of the asker, so that self-reflexivity will be a feature of every culture's ethnography.[49] The crucial question in relation to early modern representations of the Turks is whether 'Turkey' signals a defined and stable set of attributes, or merely, as one critic of *Mustapha* has argued, an 'oriental mask' for domestic concerns. I have tried to hold an awareness of antiphonality in tension with a belief that early modern writers' sense of the alterity of the Turks is real rather than illusory. I thus argue that texts about the Turks are primarily conditioned by a perception that the other is real and powerful, and not merely provisional constructs collapse back into the self once a given argument about internal

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[48] Lisa Jardine, *Worldly Goods* (London: Macmillan, 1996), Prologue, p. 34. Allied to Jardine's elevation of commerce as an arena of contact, is a tendency to exaggerate the receptiveness of the Ottomans to western culture: see particularly her comments on the abortive approaches made to Leonardo and Michelangelo by emissaries of Mehmet II, or on Trapezuntius's proposal to offer him a dedication of his translation of the *Almagest*, *Wordly Goods*, pp. 242-243, 252. Gülrü Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power: The Topkapi Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (New York: Architectural History Foundation, 1991), p. 11, argues that Mehmet's European patronage reflects territorial designs on Italy rather than multiculturalism. In any case, Halil Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age, 1300-1600*, trans. by Norman Itkovitz and Colin Imber (New York: Praeger Publications, 1973), pp. 27-30, stresses that Mehmet II's seeming openness to western culture was anomalous in relation to the practice of both earlier and subsequent sultans.

[49] See Boon, p. 6, for the suggestion that all ethnography is 'a roundabout ethnocentrism'.

English or European affairs has been effectively rehearsed. No text is exhausted by any given reading, and approaching *Tamburlaine* as a text motivated by concerns about English vagrancy, or *Mustapha* as an intervention in Jacobean politics, need not preclude other concerns. Equally however, to recognise that the texts interrogate domestic themes is not necessarily to imply that they are thus in some sense not really about the Turks.[50]

Ahmad has highlighted Said's tendency in *Orientalism* to represent the west as a cultural ego that 'is able to constitute its own coherence only through aggressive objectification of the other', and responsive to analysis as a 'self-identical, fixed being which has always had an essence and a project, an imagination and a will'.[51] A strong illustration of the dangers of untempered psychologism occurs where some writers have attempted to approach the archive of texts about the Turks by means of drawing analogues with other archives. Nabil Matar's *Turks, Moors and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery* (New York, 1999), for example, locates early modern texts about the Turks in terms of their authors' anxieties about the failure to conquer the Levant (something that, historically speaking, they never even contemplated), and the projection of these anxieties onto the psychological blankness of the New World:

> In their discourse about Muslims, Britons produced a representation that did not belong to the actual encounter with the Muslims. Rather, it was a representation of a representation: in order to represent the Muslim as Other, Britons borrowed constructions of alterity and demonization from their encounter with the American Indians.

Matar fleshes out this thesis in terms of the 'superimposition' of American materials onto the Levant as 'psychological compensation' for 'colonial and cultural inadequacies' in a way that seems to me to extend the inevitable psychological model beyond its usefulness.[52]

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[50] For these approaches to *Tamburlaine* and *Mustapha* respectively, see Mark Thornton Burnett, 'Tamburlaine: An Elizabethan Vagabond', *SP*, 84 (1987), 308-323; Albert H. Tricomi, *Anticourt Drama in England, 1603-42* (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1989) and Chapter Five, below.
[51] Ahmad, pp. 182-183.
[52] Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), pp. 15-7. See also Chapter Three, 'The Renaissance Triangle: Britons, Muslims and American Indians'. For a similar argument framed in relation to the relationship between Atlantic and Mediterranean images of the other in *The Tempest*, see Jerry Brotton, ' "This Tunis, sir, was Carthage": Contesting Colonialism in The Tempest', in Ania Loomba and Martin Orkin, eds., *Post-colonial Shakespeares* (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 36. A similar approach is seen in Barbara Fuchs's suggestion that texts about Islamic cultures form a 'third pole' in relation to European writers' attempt to fuse classical narratives that serve to authenticate the European self with more threatening experiences of

4. Thesis Contents

Part One, *The Originall of the Turkes*, explores representations of the ancient history of the Turks, focusing on accounts of the origins of Turkish power.

Chapter One, '*Cursed Seed of Hismael*: Sacral Time and the Difference of the Turks', introduces the concept of the 'originall' in accounts of the ancient history of the Turks, and then moves to an exploration of the idea of sacral time which underpins the materials analysed in the chapter. This concept is explored with reference to Benjamin's deployment of an uncanny Turkish chess-playing puppet as an apocalyptic sign in 'Theses on the Philosophy of History'. Picking up on a theme brought out in this Introduction in my discussion of the 'postcolonial early modern', my reading of this essay emphasises Benjamin's critique of the sequential, linear conception of time associated with post-Enlightenment historical thought, and suggests that un-thinking 'homogeneous, empty time' is a necessary starting-point for apprehending early modern sacral narratives of Turkish difference. The anti-Turkish polemic of Luther, which is the classic expression of this mode of constructing the difference of the Turks, leads us directly into English writings about the Turks, represented by the interpretation of Turkish history incorporated by John Foxe in the 1583 edition of *Acts and Monuments*. Foxe's minutely calculated parallel between Biblical narratives and those of Turkish history sites its own origin in the Biblical story of Ishmael, thus establishing a pattern of relationship between Christendom and the Turkish empire centred on perpetual enmity between the church as the 'chosen seed' and the 'cursed seed' of an immemorially wayward and rebellious brother. The same fraternal pattern is then traced through early modern Lives of Muhammad and subsequent episodes in the history of the Turks, suggesting a template for the more contemporaneous historical materials explored in Part Two of the thesis.

Chapter Two, 'Scythia and the Oriental Translation of Empire', opens with a complex visual text, the Frontispiece to George Sandys's *Relation of a Journey Begun An: Dom: 1610* (1615). This text embodies the fusion of the sacral-temporal construction of Turkishness explored in Chapter One with a classicising construction based on a lineage traced back from modern England to ancient Rome. In depicting the

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alterity in the Americas, *Mimesis and Empire: the New World, Islam, and European Identities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 7.

Turks as excluded from this lineage, the Frontispiece reflects authors' anxious rebuttals of the Turkish claims to *Romanitas* reflected in early Renaissance period writings tracing the Turks to a Trojan origin. The theory favoured by almost all writers, Sandys included, is one of an origin in Scythia; drawing on the analysis of Scythia as a symbolic locale contained in François Hartog's *The Mirror of Herodotus,* I analyse the way historical writings about the Turks deploy Scythianness, equated with lawlessness and nomadism, as an inescapable and binding foundation for Turkish difference.

Chapter Three, 'Turkish *Tamburlaine*', explores Marlowe's oriental history plays in the light of the economy of origins outlined in Chapter Two, stressing the embeddedness of Marlowe's depiction of the 'Scythian shepherd' within contemporary historiography about the Turks. This relationship to history writing is explored with particular reference to Knolles's *Generall Historie of the Turkes* (1603), a neglected possible source for Marlowe's plays, which provides in its account of the life of Ottoman a striking parallel to Marlowe's depiction of the rise of Tamburlaine. This connection in turn provides an interesting impetus for the re-orientalising of *Tamburlaine* as a searching exploration of the trajectory implied by the accounts of the Turks' Scythian origin explored in Chapter Two. The uniqueness of Marlowe's historical intervention, I argue, is to deploy notions of origin in such a way as to present the Scythian Tamburlaine as bearing an essential likeness to the (Scythian) Turks of the play's own moment. The ending of *2 Tamburlaine* exhibits a powerful resonance in relation to late sixteenth century responses to the Turkish threat by tracing the collapse of Tamburlaine's power to his failure to settle in both physical, geographical terms, and in terms of securing the transfer of power to a worthy heir. The success of the Turks, I argue, is written into Marlowe's presentation of the failure of the Tartars in a way that points to subsequent antagonisms between the Ottoman Empire and Christendom. These antagonisms are directly contingent upon the Turks exceeding their nomadic origins and establishing their highly centralised and effective fixed centre at Constantinople from 1453. It is to representations of that centre that I turn in Part Two.

Part Two, *The Image of the Othoman Greatnesse*, moves from writings concerned with the origins and history of the Turks to a present day sense of lineage focused on the Seraglio at Constantinople as the embodiment of the absolute power, and unnatural familial relations, of the Turkish sultans.

Chapter Four, 'Early Modern Descriptions of the Seraglio', considers the crucial role of Süleyman the Magnificent (1520-1566) in the development of the Seraglio at Constantinople as an elaborate embodiment of a system of power predicated on centralisation and fixity. Drawing on the sixteenth century first-hand descriptions of Süleyman and his court discussed in Gülrü Necipoğlu's *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, I argue that such writings court belie the theory of the Turks' Scythian origin by stressing elements of the present exercise of Turkish power redolent of civilisation rather than of barbarism, in particular, military organisation, law and the centralisation of power. The second half of the chapter turns to the two extended descriptions of the Seraglio printed in English, translations of European works by John Withers, and Edward Grimestone. My analysis of these works suggests that, while the insistence on the settled and established nature of contemporary Ottoman power belies the narratives of Turkish origins explored in Part One, the concern with lineal patterns of fratricide and patricide reveals an important continuity with those accounts. As a supplement to the theme of the unnatural Turkish family which these crimes suggest, I also explore the *motif* of the uxorious sultan, one which recurs frequently in early modern depictions of the Seraglio, including the theatrical ones in Fulke Greville's *Mustapha* (Chapter Five) and Jonson's *Epicoene* (Chapter Six).

Chapter Five, '*Horrible Actes*: Kinship and Power in Fulke Greville's *Mustapha*', turns to one of the early modern period's iconic images of Turkish power, the murder by Süleyman of his eldest son, Mustapha, at the behest of the grasping and ruthless Hürrem sultan, known in the west as Roxolana. By means of a careful consideration of some of the critical literature about Greville's dramatisation of this story in *Mustapha*, and a close reading of the play, I demonstrate that, contrary to the opinions of critics who see the play's Ottoman setting as an example of 'delocalization', *Mustapha* is carefully and precisely located in ways that reflect a deep engagement with issues from the historical literature about the Turks. As suggested in Chapter Four, the essence of Greville's sense of the difference of the Turks is seen to turn on unnatural family relationships, here represented by the crime of infanticide, and the disastrous enslavement of Sultan Süleyman to a woman.

Chapter Six, 'Refractions of the Seraglio Image in the Public Theatre: *2 Henry IV* and *Epicoene*' examines oblique representations of the Seraglio in two canonical

dramas. In the first part of the chapter, I argue that Hal's reference to Ottoman royal fratricide in the reassurance to his brothers upon his accession that 'This is the English, not the Turkish court' (*2 Henry IV*, 5.2.47), constitutes a pivotal moment, whose effect depends on the establishment of a contrast between English and Turkish power that is far from casual. Noting the prominence of oriental themes throughout the second tetralogy, I argue that questions of the nature of Turkish power lie close to the centre of Shakespeare's historical intervention. The second part of the chapter turns to Jonson's *Epicoene*, and argues that Morose, in his addiction to silence and insistence on the use of sign-language by his servants is a comic parody of the Ottoman sultan. Morose's indifference to the norms of inheritance and succession, and belief that he can secure total control over a woman comically engage with the literature about the Turks in ways that serve to emphasise a common paradox noted in Chapters Four and Five, namely that the incarceration of women, intended as the means of securing ultimate control over them by men, may result in the enslavement of a man by a powerful woman.

Chapter Seven, 'From Tyranny to Despotism', addresses an issue of periodicity, relating the materials considered in Part Two to the movement from a discourse in political theory centred on notions of tyranny to one of despotism. The Seraglio image, I argue, is crucial to this overall movement. The contrast between early modern accounts of the Seraglio as a dynamic space centred on the exercise of power, and the sentimental and erotic images discussed by Ruth Bernard Yeazell in *Harems of the Mind*, is one that serves to clarify the broader periodisation of English writings about the Turk.

The Conclusion draws together themes from the thesis as a series of tentative answers to the question 'who are the Turks?' in early modern writing, emphasising three key findings from this research.

Part One

The Originall of the Turkes

Chapter One

Cursed Seed of Hismael: Sacral Time and the Difference of the Turks

Early modern histories of the Turks exist primarily as the exposition of a certain understanding of a relationship between the Turks and Christendom. This relationship is perceived as essentially one of violence, the result of a fundamental antagonism that overrides all other interests for the history writer, and informs every detail of his work. Peter Ashton, in his translation of Jovius, for example, commends the study of Turkish history solely as a means to interrogate the enmity between Christians and Turks:

> Truly as the case standeth even now, there is no history that ought (in my judgment) rather to be loked in and knowen, for as muche as the turkes (being to al christendome most cruel and mortal ennemies) hath of long tyme, and daylye doth worke muche mischife and slaughter uppon the poore christens, and hath of late yeres taken from us by force, the most goodly and plentyfull countryes, and the strongest castles and cities, of al christendome.[1]

This sense of enmity is taken as a pattern applicable to the whole of history, mediated by lineages of power from distant imagined origins long in the past to present day conflict.

Notions of the 'originall' serve as a master-concept in early modern histories of the Turks. John Shute's *Two Notable Commentaries* (1562) contains two translations from Italian, the first Andrea Cambino's general work on Turkish history, and the second an anonymous history of the fifteenth century Albanian rebel Scanderbeg. The title of the first of these, 'A Commentarie [...] of the originall of the Turques, and Empire of the house of Ottomano' (A1 v) clearly situates the historical project as one of locating 'Empire' in relation to origin, narrowly presented as the continuity between present power and the career of the eponymous founder Ottoman. The Advertisement of Thomas Newton's 1575 translation of Augustino Curio reflects the more complex role assigned to origin in his rather different project of tracing the history of the Turks back through the Saracens to Muhammad:

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[1] Peter Ashton, *A Shorte Treatise upon the Turkes Chronicles, compyled by Paulus Jovius byshop of Nucerne* (1546), Epistle, * 5 v. Subsequent references are in the text.

> The Notable Historie of the Saracens, Briefly and faithfully descrybing the originall beginning, continuance and successe as well of the Saracens, as also of Turkes, Souldans, Mamalukes, Assassins, Tartarians and Sophians. With a discourse of their Affaires and Actes from the byrth of Mahomet their first peevish Prophet and founder for 700 yeares space. [2]

Shute's and Ashton's titles represent a set form which is closely echoed by other writers. The first part of Hugh Goughe's *Ofspring of the House of Ottomano*, a compendium of translations from various European writers is introduced as an account of, 'The Originall beginning of the Turkishe Empyre and Lineall Race of theyr Emperours'.[3] The title of the first book of Carr's *Mahumetane or Turkish Historie* varies the formula slightly by invoking the Biblical prophecy of the four kingdoms, 'Of the Originall and beginning of the Turkes, and of the foure Empires which are issued and proceeded out of the superstitious sect of Mahumet'.[4] All these writers agree in framing their works which invite the reader to look to the origin for an explanation of the nature of Turkish power.

Such usage is informed by etymology: the Latin word *origo*, whose meanings include 'a starting point in a narrative', 'origination, rise, beginnings', 'that from which something is derived', 'descent, birth, extraction', and 'the founder (of a family or race).[5] The deployment by early modern historians of the Turks of a classical framework both in geography and historical method is explored in Chapter Two, where we consider the standard view of the Turks as originating in Scythia. A no less binding conception underlies the Biblical origin for the Turks as the 'cursed seed of Hismael' discussed in this chapter, though here the mode of extrapolation of historical destiny from origin takes place within the distinct temporal mode of Biblical prophecy.

Central to the materials explored in this chapter is a paradoxical sense of self-reflexiveness in the inter-linking of Christian self and other within sacral narratives of Turkish difference. Ashton, for example, locates the origin of the Turks' hostility in

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[2] Thomas Newton, *Notable Historie of the Saracens* [...] *Drawen out of Augustine Curio and sundry other good Authors* (1575), C4 r.
[3] See Hugh Goughe, *The Ofspring of the house of Ottomano* [...] *Whereunto is added Bartholomeus Georgieviz Epitome, of the Customes, Rytes, Ceremonies, and Religion of the Turkes* (1569), B1 r.
[4] R[alph] Carr, *The Mahumetane or Turkish Historie* (1600), Book 1, A1 r. On the four kingdoms of Daniel 7, see below.
[5] P. G. W. Glare, *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1973), 8 vols., Vol. 5, pp. 1268-9.

the story of Ishmael, the son of Abraham by the bondwoman Hagar, who is cast out into the desert in Genesis.[6] He has chronicled the depredations of the Turks, he writes:

> That hereby we may take good occasion bothe to learne their gyle, and policies in [ ] we have hereafter to do with them and, also to amend our owen turkishe and synfull lyves, seyng that God, of his infinyte goodnes and love towarde us, sufferethe the wicked and cursed seed of Hismael to be a scourge to whip us for our synnes, and by this means to cal us home agayne. (* 4 v) [7]

Ashton aims to inform Christian readers about Turkish strategy and government in order to facilitate military resistance to the continuing incursions of the Turks. Alongside this external struggle however, he advocates an internal struggle, urging Christian readers to amend their 'turkishe and sinful lyves' as a means of defeating the Turks.

In invoking the idea of the Turks as scourge of God, Ashton presents a view of history in which the external world mirrors the internal, both on the level of states and quasi national groupings (Turks versus Christendom) and of the individual subject. The conception of history Ashton outlines here is extrapolated at great length in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, early modern England's most important consideration of the Turks from the point of view of sacral time. The strangeness of Foxe's historical conception is such as to require further amplification before we turn to Foxe, for which I will now consider Walter Benjamin's late meditation on sacral time, 'Theses on the Philosophy of History', a text which also presents an intriguing image of the Turk as a symbol of the control over the other in history writing.

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[6] Genesis 21. 1-21
[7] Illegible word in copy indicated by [ ].

> The story is told of an automaton constructed in such a way that it could play a winning game of chess, answering each move of an opponent with a countermove. A puppet in Turkish attire and with a hookah in its mouth sat before a chessboard placed on a large white table. A system of mirrors created the illusion that this table was transparent from all sides. Actually, a little hunchback who was an expert chess player sat inside and guided the puppet's hands by means of strings. One can imagine a philosophical counterpart to this device. The puppet called 'historical materialism' is to win all the time. It can easily be a match for anyone if it enlists the services of theology, which today, as we know, is wizened and has to keep out of sight.[8]

Benjamin's essay 'Theses on the Philosophy of History' is structured by a distinction between two forms of historical practice: historicism, and historical materialism. The chess-playing puppet of Thesis I stands as a figure for the latter, a practice which Benjamin presents as a deployment of sacral time, a binding of past and present in a chain of Messianic longing and fulfilment. The theological practice of historical materialism operates in opposition to two manifestations of the 'empty' present: first, historicism's injunction to its adherents to 'blot out everything they know about the later course of history' in pursuit of a pure 'empathy' with the past (Thesis VII, pp. 247-8); secondly, social democracy's postulate of a temporality based on the notion of linear progress through 'homogeneous, empty time' (Thesis XIII, p. 252).

Benjamin identifies progressivism with an idea of history in which the past is always inert and out-of-date in relation to the achievements of a present that is shaped by the attempt to concentrate the efforts of society, and of the working class in particular, on material betterment, a sham expectation that has led, among other negative consequences, to the failure of political resistance to fascism. The true fulfilment of history writing occurs, he argues, at moments where the past vivifies, suddenly and at a moment of crisis, in a relation of creative interaction with the present (Thesis V, p. 247). In opposition to the 'vulgar Marxist' espousal of salvation through technology, Benjamin describes a redemptive logic in which the revolutionary moment in historiography manifests as a glimmer of the old vision of temporal consummation in

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[8] Walter Benjamin, 'Theses on the Philosophy of History', in *Illuminations*, trans. by Harry Zohn, edited and with an Introduction by Hannah Arendt, (London: Cape, 1970), Thesis I, p. 245. Subsequent references are in the text.

the paradoxical *Jetztzeit*, a time 'filled by the presence of the now' in which the past also, suddenly and violently, springs to life (Thesis XIV, p. 253).[9]

There is something unsettling, uncanny, one might say, about Thesis I, suggesting a parallel between Benjamin's 'Thesis' and Freud.[10] The mutual resonance of these texts is in part due to the presence of the hunchback in Benjamin's 'Thesis I', cited above. The hunchback recalls an evil *daemon* and bringer of misfortune in German folklore, and is an image that recurs throughout Benjamin's writings as a symbol of bad luck.[11] Such a belief in the ill-fatedness of one's own actions as Benjamin's constitutes an example of the sort of ego-disturbance that Freud interrogates in his essay on 'The "Uncanny"', which he interprets as neurotic delusion regarding the 'omnipotence of thoughts'.[12] The themes of Freud's essay are suggestive on a deeper level, for the delusion Freud describes as characteristic of individual neurosis is, like the historical mentality Benjamin wryly advocates, one that resists the randomness of human experience, detecting a patterned character to events that a scientific world view would deny them. Benjamin's *Jetztzeit* is a time in which the arbitrariness of the particular event collapses into a sense of patterned prefiguring, recurrence, and the fulfilment of expectation.

More than the hunchback, it is the Turkish puppet that brings these associations into play as we read Thesis I, recalling as it does the way Freud figures the automaton of E. T. A. Hofmann's story 'The Sandman' as a test-case for his own subjective-historical interpretation of the uncanny, but also for Jentsch's view of the uncanny as an effect of 'doubts [...] whether a lifeless object might in fact be animate'.[13] The hunch-back's illusion in Thesis I may excite just such uncertainties as are raised by Jentsch, and Benjamin plays on them within his allegory of history writing by reversing the normal agency of historiography: an essentially vigorous past as it were bursting in

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[9] Richard Wolin, *Walter Benjamin: An aesthetic of Redemption* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994), Preface, xlviii, notes that, in the 'Theses', 'the lines between the dawning of a classless society and the advent of the Messiah were blurred to the point where the claims of Marxism overlapped with those of the Last Judgement'. Wolin sees Benjamin's fusion of a Marxist social-evolutionary model with Judeo-Christian apocalyptic as self-defeating. For a more sympathetic view of Benjamin's 'messianic materialism', see Irving Wohlfarth, 'On the Messianic Structure of Walter Benjamin's Last Reflections', *Glyph*, 3 (1978), 148-212.

[10] Sigmund Freud, 'The "Uncanny"' (1919) in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, ed. by James Strachey and Anna Freud (London: Hogarth Press and the Institute of Psycho-Analysis, 1953-74), 24 vols., Vol. 17.

[11] Benjamin, *Illuminations*, Introduction, p. 12. Bad luck is also figured in the quotation from Gerhard Scholem that forms the epigraph to Thesis IX, p. 249.

[12] Freud, p. 243.

[13] Freud, p. 226.

upon the present, just as, in an uncanny reversal of the normal order of things, it is the puppet who 'enlists' the hunchback puppeteer.

As Certeau has noted, Freud's confident over-mapping of the infantile and the primitive means that his commentary on the subjective is always at the same time social and historical.[14] Freud's essay, like Benjamin's, addresses itself to the questions of disjected history. In the former, this history corresponds to the sublimated material of the castration complex and Oedipal relation; in Benjamin's, the 'homogeneous, empty time' (Theses XIII, XIV, XV, pp. 252, 254) of modernity is liable to apprehension by an earlier, theological temporality, in much the same way as, in Freud's reading of Hofmann's tale, Nathaniel is tracked by Coppelius/Coppola/the Sandman. Freud's observations about the individual neurotic subject are at the same time a comment on atavistic elements in a culture which has only partially internalised a scientific world view.

It is pertinent that Freud's discussion of 'The "Uncanny"' should relate anxieties over the revenance of the past to fears about the culturally other. Freud's discussion extends beyond the sublimated psychological material to take in meanings of the uncanny that arise from a wider social disjunction, as we can see from various examples cited in the survey of linguistic usage with which the essay opens.[15] Freud argues that the slippage between *heimlich* and *unheimlich* relates to uncertainty over whether what is familiar is really known and to be trusted, and consequently whether the other is not actually deeply embedded within the individual psyche. In the same way, the Turkish puppet is a strong symbol for Benjamin because the Turk is both an ever-present other in the history of the west, including the west which produced the models of sacral history that lie behind Benjamin's argument, and because he is a figure of strange historical ambivalence, at once known and irreconcilably strange to the European.

This implication of Benjamin's invocation of the oriental in Thesis I is startlingly reinforced if, by-passing the disingenuous casualness of Benjamin's mock-folkloric tone at the opening of the Thesis ('The story is told [...]'), we consider the real history behind Thesis I. Many of the images Benjamin employs in 'Theses' - the 'angel

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[14] Michel de Certeau, *Heterologies: Discourse on the Other*, trans. by Brian Massumi, Foreword by Wlad Godzich (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986), pp. 5 ff.

[15] See the following examples: 'The protestant land-owners do not feel [...] *heimlich* among their catholic inferiors'; 'That which comes from afar does not live quite *heimelig* [...] among the people'; 'a sense of agreeable restfulness and security as in one within the four walls of his house', Freud, pp. 220-223.

of history' (Thesis IX, p. 249), the client drained in the brothel by the 'whore of once upon a time' (Thesis XVI, p. 254), the foolish devotee of historicism telling events like beads on a rosary (Thesis XVIII A, p. 255), – suggest what George Steiner has described as an element of 'arcane tomfoolery' in Benjamin's writing.[16] In the case of the Turkish puppet, what looks like a facetious joke conceals a reference to an eloquent episode in scientific and social history that seems to track Benjamin's critique of the Enlightenment. The object in question, which has been described in detail by Gaby Wood, was a sham automaton devised and manufactured by the Hungarian Wolfgang von Kempelen in 1769. Kempelen exhibited his puppet at the court of the Empress Maria Teresa, and toured the courts of Europe with it, winning a famous victory against Napoleon (Catherine the Great was disqualified for cheating).[17] The potency of Kempelen's Turkish chess player as a symbol of the internal tensions of the Enlightenment lies in the ambivalent reaction of the first spectators, which combined an element of distinctly pre-modern wonder - 'people crossed themselves on entering the room, [while] ladies who attended the exhibition sometimes fainted from fear' (p. 59) – with a characteristically eighteenth century desire, always frustrated, to identify and describe the nature of the deception.

Drawing on a contemporary expression of the fascination with artificial life, the film *Blade Runner*, Wood typifies this composite reaction as torn between a progressivist fascination with science's aspiration to reproduce the human – the automaton as 'replica', and the uncanny and atavistic idea of the historically 'revenant', the past returning. As an example of artificial life, Benjamin's Turk represents a revivification of pre-Enlightenment preoccupations that, as it were, haunt the lifeless body of the machine: 'The madness left over from darker times was all the more disturbing for being hidden beneath the mask of enlightenment' (xvi- xviii).

Kempelen's choice of attire for his mysterious being was not an arbitrary one, but served to suggest of one of Europe's oldest and most feared cultural others:

> The clothing [...] had the psychological effect on audiences of a particular Orientalist fantasy: the unknown, spirit-like

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[16] Walter Benjamin, *The Origin of German Tragic Drama*, trans. by John Osborne, Introduction by George Steiner (London: Verso, 1998), Introduction, p. 8.
[17] Gaby Wood, *Living Dolls: A Magical history of the Quest for Mechanical Life* (London: Faber and Faber, 2002), p. 58. Subsequent references are in the text. See also Tom Standage, *The Mechanical Turk: The True Story of the Chess-playing Puppet that Fooled the World* (London: Penguin, 2002).

> forces of darkness, came dressed in the attire of the East. (p. 58)

The original, Viennese exhibitions of the puppet's wondrous mastery took place contemporaneously with an 'anti-Turkish diplomatic campaign' waged by Maria Theresa's successor, Joseph II (p. 58), and their popularity perhaps stood as an ironic reversal of the real events, in which decline was relegating Ottoman power to a position of colourful impotence in relation to Europe. The resonance of the puppet is not however exhausted by this context. Benjamin's evocation of this historically suggestive piece of illusionism makes the puppet an embodiment of the slipperiness of the simulacrum, never alive, and so incapable of being killed but, like the 'angel of history', towering over the ages. Among the associations conjured up by this over-determined detail is an age of German experience and German literature in which the Turks represented a real and mortal threat, and in which their defeat was expected only in a real apocalypse. It is a phase of historical thought of which Benjamin, a voracious reader of early modern history and theology, and a student of the German Baroque drama which habitually dealt with oriental themes, cannot have been unaware.[18] This literature, whose English cognates are explored in this chapter, resonates powerfully with Benjamin's 'Theses' not least because its guiding logic is that of a sacral-eschatological, non-linear, non-progressive history.

Benedict Anderson periodises Benjamin's 'Theses' by describing modernity precisely as 'what has come to take the place of the medieval conception of simultaneity-along-time'.[19] His use of 'medieval' here is in fact rather broad. The figure Anderson identifies as the first 'mass readership', author, Martin Luther (p. 39), is also a central figure in the sixteenth century revival of apocalyptic thought, a revival that, as we will see, had a significant impact on the construction of the Turks in the early modern English cultural imaginary. Texts about the Turks such as those of Luther, and of John Foxe, who was chiefly inspired by a Lutheran conception of sacral 'simultaneity', thus stand poised between two eras. Producing their works for mass-circulation by means of a 'coalition between Protestantism and print-capitlism' (Anderson, p. 40), they remain wedded to an understanding of temporality that identifies them firmly with the antemodern.

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[18] Benjamin, *Illuminations*, Introduction, pp. 9, 68.
[19] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), p. 24.

Benjamin's re-mobilisation of sacral time in 'Theses on the Philosophy of History' does not merely advocate the practice of simultaneity in the writing of history; his essay itself constitutes such simultaneity by enacting a return of the defunct temporal mode, largely bound up with eschatology, of the 'medieval' West. The uncanny atmosphere of 'Theses' as a whole is thus largely an effect of untimeliness.[20] Accepting 'medieval' as a sign for a long ante-modernity that includes the explosion of apocalyptic history writing in the Reformation period, we can thus take 'Theses' as a starting point for approaching the notion of sacral time in writings from the pre-modern West. Employing a short time-line, the illusionistic setting for the game of chess, with its mirrors and concealed puppeteer, suggests the sinister atmosphere of a nineteenth century fair-ground, a motif that is picked up at the conclusion of the essay in Thesis XVIII B (p. 245), where Benjamin evokes soothsayers and fortune-tellers as an alternative and forbidden form of divination to that of the Jews. The historical correlate of the fair-ground is perhaps the period of Ottoman decline in the nineteenth century, recalling the dissolution of that empire after World War I, part of a constellation of events that signalled the crisis of German progressivism, precipitating Benjamin's own moment of the ascendancy of fascism in Europe. Placing 'Theses' on a longer time-line however, Benjamin's Turk evokes the classic era of European fear of the Turk during the centuries following the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, an era in which the consciousness of central Europe in particular was shaped by a sense of the Ottoman threat.

Against this earlier back-drop, Benjamin's carnivalesque recalls an imaginary shaped by popular rituals such as the ringing of bells and burning of bonfires to commemorate victories over the Turks, the dramatic presentation of Turks and Saracens on the stage, and massive production of ballad, pamphlet and sermon literature. These Turks of popular vilification, and their literary counterparts in historical writings of the period, inhabit the ambivalence of the *heimlich* as at once what is inward, pertaining to the self, and what is fearful and hidden from view. The temporal strategies which this chapter will trace in sixteenth and seventeenth century writings about the Turks reveal an uncanny structural tension between fear and knowledge predicated on ascribing the

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[20] Freud, p. 221, acknowledges this sense when he cites the Latin *intempesta nocte*, untimely or unpropitious night, as an instance of the uncanny.

Turks to 'that class of the frightening which leads back to what is known of old and long familiar'.

For Benjamin, historical materialism can co-opt the past only by synthesising it through a redemptive 'temporal index' that allows it to attach itself in a relation of dependence to the present, finding there the satisfaction of a putative longing (Thesis II, p. 243). Without this quasi-religious citation, the past 'flits by', it will 'run away from us' and 'disappear irretrievably' (Thesis V, p. 247). The cultural other, the Turk enacts just such an escape, both in 'Theses', where the puppet's sole appearance marks a displacement by Benjamin's insistent reiterations of Judaeo-Christian Messianic expectation, and in the early modern writing of the Turks as errant, non-autochthonous and extravagantly mobile. Benjamin foregoes the search for the other of culture in the external world, finding difference instead within a fractured social self: 'there is no document of civilization which is not at the same time a document of barbarism' (p. 248). This move, too, parallels Renaissance period writings about the Turks, writings that rely constantly on temporal strategies that recapitulate spatial distance as a sort of temporal inwardness within the full, eschatological present.

The decade which saw the rapid spread of Luther's teachings in Germany, the 1520s, also witnessed the most dramatic incursions of the Turks into Europe, as Süleyman the Magnificent pressed into Hungary and Serbia, won significant victories at Rhodes (1522) and Mohács (1526), and even laid siege to Vienna (1529).[21] The coincidence of internal and external threats to Catholic Christendom produced a sense of general crisis that many saw as apocalyptic. Luther's was a leading voice in the articulation of this crisis as heralding the eschatological moment, a moment that was to be accompanied by new and unique assaults by Satan on the true church. Paradoxically however, Luther's apocalyptic polemic against the Turks constructs their power within a discourse of inwardness which renders them knowable and uncannily familiar to the Christian reader, merely 'an aspect of the moral and spiritual crisis of [the] age'.[22] Luther's writings against the Turks exhibit a sense of that full present to which Benjamin, in his indebtedness to Marx's secular eschatology, also gestures, a present

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[21] These events are summarised in Dorothy M. Vaughan, *Europe and the Turk: A Pattern of Alliances, 1350-1700* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1954), pp. 107-116. See also R. W. Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962), pp. 104-7.
[22] John W. Bohnstedt, 'The Infidel Scourge of God: The Turkish Menace as seen by German Pamphleteers of the Reformation era' (Philedelphia, NJ: American Philosophical Society, 1968), p. 40.

only fully realised in its involvement in dense structures of repetition and co-presence within sacral time. The historical practice associated with Luther through the historian of the Lutheran Reformation, Philip Melancthon, constitutes a sort of radical holism that proves stubbornly inaccessible from the point-of-view of a Saidian invariant orientalist binarism of Western self and non-Western other. Writings like those of Luther and Foxe, to which we will turn shortly, negotiate a paradox that presents the Turks as aggressively and implacably opposed to the church, while at the same time deeply linked to through the sacral-temporal patterning of narratives of interconnection.

What Luther derives from the success of the Turks is chiefly a sense of divine displeasure with Christendom. As a providentially sanctioned 'scourge of God' sent to upbraid sinners, the Turks can truly be opposed only with self-examination, repentance and inward reform. Events such as the Turkish successes of the 1520s are thus for Luther primarily events of the inner life of the Christian community. The radical reflexivity of this interpretation of the antagonism between Christians and Turks laid Luther open to the charge of political and military quietism, for example in the papal bull *Exsurge Domine,* which condemned 'the allegedly Lutheran proposition that "to fight against the Turks is to oppose God's visitation on our iniquities"'.[23] Luther's response to this charge, as Mark Edwards notes, was to assert that 'to fight against the Turks was futile as long as the papacy was allowed to prosper [...] they were God's punishment on a sinful Christendom that, among other things, tolerated the papal abomination' (p. 98). In line with this view, Edwards finds throughout Luther's writings against the Turks an inward appeal, both to the church and to the individual believer. Crusade was rejected as a confusion of religious duty and secular pragmatism, while military resistance was to be undertaken only under secular leadership, and according to the ordinary strictures of a just war. The important battle was that in which 'the Turk was to be fought spiritually by Christians with repentance, the amendment of one's life, and prayer' (p. 99).

For all his doubts about the efficacy of military struggle however, Luther was in no doubt that the conflicts of his own day represented the fulfilment of Biblical prophecies of the last things. As Edwards comments, 'the appearance of the papal Antichrist and the success of the Turk left no doubt in Luther's mind that the

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[23] Mark U. Edwards, Jr., *Luther's Last Battles: Politics and Polemics, 1531-46* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983), p. 98. Subsequent references are in the text.

apocalyptic drama was in its final act' (p. 97). The passages which enabled Luther to form this conclusion are drawn from Biblical Apocalyptic, chiefly the Books of Daniel and Revelation. Meaning 'revelation', or 'unveiling', 'apocalyptic' refers to Biblical writings taken to encode future events in often dense and obscure poetic language.[24] The scholar-preacher undertakes to uncover the hidden application of the writing to, and its fulfilment in, his own time. Luther's evidence for the arrival of the last age depends on the identification of the great enemies of the true church, the Turk and the Pope, with the actors of the Biblical literature. Luther thus identifies the Turk with the 'little horn' of Daniel, whose four beasts denote the succession of empires from that of Rome to the present day, and with the tribe of Gog, singled out for God's wrath in the Book of Ezekiel.[25] The Pope is revealed as Antichrist, the last great persecutor of the true church, traditionally identified with the monstrous, devouring beasts of Revelation. The apocalyptic significance of the Turks emerges both as an element in a literature concerned with the general crisis of the age, and as a tool for analysing specific events, as in Luther's *Army Sermon Against the Turks*, which, as Edwards notes, gives an apocalyptic interpretation to the siege of Vienna in 1529 (p. 99). If these events signal the close of time however, they are also a replaying of the Biblical history out of which the prophecies arose, so that the church is seen as a new Israel, beset as was the first Israel by enemies against whom faith alone can defend it. Turkish success is thus ultimately attributable to Christian sin.

Luther's sacral temporality, and something of the pessimism borne of his internalised discourse of struggle against the Turks, make a distinctive contribution to Reformation historiography in England through John Foxe. Luther's influence over Foxe is the more striking because of the Genevan leanings of the Elizabethan church as a whole, and most strongly felt, as Basil Hall has noted, in the martyrologist's 'apocalyptic view of Christian history', one that is antithetical to Calvin's far more cautious approach to sacral time.[26] Underlying all Foxe writes about the Turks is a sense

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[24] F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingston, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 82-3.

[25] Daniel 7. 3-8, See Edwards, p. 100; Ezekiel 38. 1-6.

[26] Basil Hall, 'Lutheranism in England (1520-1600)', in Derek Baker, ed., *Reform and Reformation: England and the Continent, c. 1500-1700* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1979), p. 131. Hall also notes Foxe's contribution of a Preface to the English translation of one of Luther's sermons, *A Commentary upon the Fifteenth Psalm*. Sharon Achinstein, 'John Foxe and the Jews', *RQ*, 54,1 (2001), 86-120, p. 103, describes Foxe as 'a promoter of Luther in England'. For the contrast between Calvin and Luther as regards the handling of prophetic materials, see Vaughan, p. 140. Vaughan notes, for example, that Calvin expressly denied that the Bible anywhere prophesied the rise of the Ottomans.

of God's providential control both of the development of the church, and of the successes and failures of its enemies.

> For as the government and constitution of times, and states of monarchies and policies, fall not to us by blind chance, but be administered and allotted to us from above; so it is not to be supposed, that such a great alteration and mutation of kingdoms, such a terrible and general persecution of God's people almost through all Christendom, and such a terror of the whole earth as is now moved and engendered by these Turks, cometh without the knowledge, sufferance, and determination of the Lord before, for such ends and purposes as his divine wisdom doth best know.[27]

Providence is thus a strong theme throughout Foxe's history of the Turks, particularly in episodes where their success seems outrageous or unjust.[28]

God does not require mere mute acceptance of the power of the Turks however, for the Bible, diligently studied, furnishes detailed evidences of a patterned, ordered shape to the tribulations of Christendom:

> For the better evidence and testimony [of God's providential purpose] he hath left in his Scriptures sufficient instruction and declaration, whereby we may plainly see, to our great comfort, how these grievous afflictions and troubles of the church, though they be sharp and heavy unto us, yet they come not by chance or by mans' working only, but even as the Lord himself hath appointed it, and doth permit the same. (p. 94)

The purpose of Foxe's history of the Turks is to uncover, using a distinctively Lutheran 'theology of history',[29] the means by which the believer may come to a sense of the 'constitution of times' as they impact on the historical conflict between the Turk and Christendom.

The complex genesis of Foxe's comprehensive scheme for analysing the history of the world on the basis of Biblical narratives has been amply documented by Olsen.[30]

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[27] John Foxe, *The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe*, ed. by Josiah Pratt and John Staughton (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1861-8), 12 vols., Vol. 4., p. 93. Subsequent references are to this edition and are in the text.
[28] See references to Providence as an explanation for Turkish successes on pp. 30, 49, 57, 75, 94.
[29] Palle J. Olsen, 'Was John Foxe a Millenarian?', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 45 (1994), 600-624, p. 615.
[30] Olsen, p. 613.

The scheme which concerns us here is that initiated in the edition of 1570, and amplified in that of 1583, which presents Foxe's fullest treatment of the Turks. The later edition divides church history into epochs which identify the Middle Ages with the reign of Antichrist, manifest at once in the ascendancy of the Papacy and of the Ottomans, and the present era as that of the victory of the true church over these forces.[31] The mutual implication of the two embodiments of Antichrist is stressed in the 1583 edition by a section on Turkish history inserted into the account of the reign of Henry VII, where it appears embedded in documents relating to the early progress of the Reformation in Germany. The 1583 edition includes explanatory material designed to show how the division into epochs makes sense of the rise of the Ottomans, offering precise computations of the obscure numerology of the Book of Revelation to show that the unbinding of Satan at the beginning of the fourth epoch above coincides precisely with the rise of Ottoman (p. 108).

Foxe gives six 'causes' justifying the inclusion of Turkish material in a work devoted to ecclesiastical history, illustrating the range of his concerns. These six causes, in order, are the correct interpretation New Testament prophecy, the 'defection' from the church in lands conquered by the Turks, the doctrine of the scourge of God, the culpability of Christians for allowing their disunited state to benefit the Turks, and the typological link between the sufferings of the church as the new Israel with those of the first Israel as described in the Old Testament. The final 'cause' warns against the complacency of English Christians who may consider the Turkish threat safely confined to central Europe, the Balkans, Asia and the Bible lands:

> Many there be, who, for that they be farther from the Turks, and think therefore themselves to be out of danger, take little care and study what happeneth to their other brethren. (p. 20)

Within the overall deployment of sacral time in the Turkish history section of *Acts and Monuments*, it is clear that Foxe imagines this proximity, not spatially, but in terms of the interconnection of times. As such, it stands as a summary of his view of how the power of the Turks is to be understood.

First among Foxe's prefatory 'causes' for including the Turks in the later editions of *Acts and Monuments*, and central to his conception of their significance for

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[31] Third edition, 1570, cit. Olsen, p. 611.

the history of the universal church, is the prefiguring of the rise and demise of the Ottomans in Scripture. The first cause asserts not only that the events to be discussed cannot be understood without reference to their Biblical prefiguring, but that the Scriptures themselves, 'without the opening of these histories, cannot so perfectly be understood' (p. 18). The strongest possible incentive thus motivates the scholar-preacher's hermeneutic efforts. Like the invisible hunchback underneath the chessboard, he is in the position of manipulating what Benjamin, drawing on a later, Marxian apocalyptic, refers to as 'a temporal index by which [the past] is referred to salvation'. Whereas 'salvation' for Benjamin connotes the '*weak* Messianic power' of revolutionary aspiration, Foxe's notion of salvific history is identified with the root of this tradition, the *parousia* itself.[32] Olsen prescribes the extent of Foxe's millenarian hope in terms of his belief in a 'this-worldly, future, penultimate and collective state of felicity'.[33] Although, as Olsen notes, his emphasis is more on 'ecclesiastical restoration' (p. 624) than on the detail of the last days, Foxe does believe that the ultimate 'state of felicity' will be heralded by the defeat of the Turks, whom he understands as 'one of a series of evil empires' that must rise and fall before the return of Christ.[34] The history of the Turks, from their putative earliest beginnings to the present day, is thus marked with an eschatological destiny in which the whole trajectory of their rise and fall is immanent within the individual event.

Foxe's reading of prophecy is, like Luther's, grounded in a sense of typology that enables writings to refer at one and the same time to different historical phases and actors, with history characterised by cycles of repetition, rather than by progression. The fundamental structuring pattern of Foxe's treatment of the Turks is the notion of the church as a new Israel. As cause five states it:

> We must consider, that the whole power of Satan the prince of this world, goeth with the Turks, which to resist, no strength of mans arm, is sufficient, but only the name, spirit and power of our Lord Jesus the son of God, going with us in our battles, as among the old Israelites, the Ark of God's covenant and promise went with them also, fighting against the enemies of God. (pp. 18-19)

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[32] Benjamin, *Illuminations*, Thesis II, p. 245 -6. The italics in the quotation are original.
[33] Olsen, p. 623.
[34] Achinstein, p. 109.

If the church is a new Israel, then the relationship of the Turks to that church constitutes a recapitulation of the classic conflicts of Israel, both in Biblical times and beyond. The modern Turks thus unite in one the Pharaoh who persecuted the Israelites in Egypt in the Book of Exodus, the Babylonian captors of Israel, and the Antiochi who suppressed the worship of the Temple and despoiled Jerusalem in the era of the Maccabees. Likewise, moving beyond Biblical time, the Turks as conquerors of New Rome, the city of Constantine, repeat the cruelties of the pagan emperors of the Old Rome, whose depredations Constantine ended by establishing Christianity in the empire of the east. Foxe thus grounds his Millennial hope in a sense of the continuity of Israel, and in the providential patterning of history: 'But the Lord, I trust will once send a Constantine, to vanquish under foot proud Maxentius; a Moses, to drown indurate Pharaoh, a Cyrus, to subdue the stout Babylonian' (p. 83).

In fashioning a scriptural hermeneutic capable of yielding a key to the power of the Turks across the whole of time, Foxe must confront two distinct groups of prophetic materials. The prophecies of the New Testament may reliably be applied to the end time of eschatology and to other events post-dating the Incarnation. This is illustrated by the readings of passages from Revelation, cited above, and from II Thessalonians.[35] The Thessalonians passage looks forward to events of Foxe's own day: 'What St. Paul meant by this defection, the reading of these Turkish stories, and the miserable falling-away of these churches by him before planted, will soon declare' (p. 20). The two passages from Revelation offer a more complex historical resonance, one that includes elements of repetition. The first passage makes an association between the Beast whose number is 666, and the 'first origin and springing of these beastly Saracens' (p. 20).[36] There is also however a present element, hinted at in the judicious pun on 'springing' as 'attack', as well as 'unnatural generation'. The Beast, whose rampaging was to be a sign of the end according to Revelation, stands at the same time for the Turks' monstrous origin, and for their rapacity in war in Foxe's own time. He then offers a numerological proof of this interpretation, in which the number of the Beast, 666, is taken to indicate the mid-point of the life of Muhammad (he is to pass from these prophetic passages straight into a history of the Turks beginning with the Life of the Prophet). A

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[35] II Thessalonians 2. 3: 'Let no man deceive you by any means: for that day shall not come, except there come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition'.
[36] Revelation 13. 18. This Chapter of Revelation is closely modelled on Daniel 7, cited above.

supplementary passage, from Revelation 16, on the 'pouring out of the vial of God's wrath by the sixth angel', similarly combines past and future reference.[37]

A second group of prophetic materials, those of the Old Testament, presents more of a challenge to Foxe in his attempt to derive an answer to the problem of Turkish power from Scripture, because these materials are taken only to refer to the period leading up to the birth of Christ (pp. 20-1). He solves this problem by means of an oblique reading of Danieline passages to refer to Antiochus Magnus. Antiochus is taken as a type of the Antichrist of Revelation, whom Foxe, departing from Luther, identifies with the Turk. A double typology thus enables him to find prefigurings of the Ottoman ascendancy in the Old Testament.

Foxe is aware of the need to locate within his eschatology that other great enemy of the true church, the false Church of Rome. Already in the third of his six causes, he has drawn on a Lutheran discourse of inwardness to draw the reader into a sense of the Turkish and Roman threats as deeply linked within Christian experience. He has set forth the idea of scourge, he writes, so that 'we [may] ponder with ourselves the scourge of God for our sins, and corrupt doctrine, which, in the sequel hereof, more evidently may appear to our eyes, for our better admonition.' (p. 18) Temporalities are here elided to give a sense of the arrival of ultimate time, with the consecutive implications of 'sequel' abruptly intersected by the temporal immediacy of 'hereof', so that the inner and outer worlds of Christendom become radically inseparable. 'Corrupt doctrine' here expressly denotes the persistence of Roman error and superstition in the contemporary church, so that the success of the Turks emerges as no more than a consequence of the failure of ecclesiastical reform.

If error persists in the church, it is a failure of the whole church, from which those Christians who have half-heartedly pursued reform are not to be exculpated. Little wonder then if God visit even the horror of the Turkish conquests on such a people. As the fifth 'cause' expresses it, in so far as they are still subject to the errors of Rome, Christians of the West are Turks inwardly:

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[37] The image of 'pouring' evokes a repertoire of metaphors of the Turks as lawless nomads, as it were flooding across the world in the incursions into Christendom of the sixteenth century. At the same time it recalls the myths of Turkish origin which are so prominent in early modern writing about the Turks, and to which we will return in Chapter Two: 'the opening of [this] prophecy may [...] more evidently appear, in considering the order and manner of the coming in of these Turks into Europe' (Foxe, p. 20).

> We fight against a persecutor, being no less persecutors ourselves. We wrestle against a bloody tyrant, and our hands be as full of blood as his. He killeth Christ's people with the sword: and we burn them with fire. He, observing the works of the law, seeketh his justice by the same: the like also do we [...] And what marvel then, if our doctrine being as corrupt almost, as his: and our conversation worse, if Christ fight not with us, fighting the Turk (p. 19).

The rhetoric of cause five provides a theological justification for the assertion that Turk and Pope are dual manifestations of Antichrist, presenting their respective religions as both equally inimical to the Protestant understanding of God's grace as unattainable through human effort. This aspect is even more strongly pointed where Foxe justifies his identification of the Turk as Antichrist at the beginning of the section on prophecies: 'by this Antichrist I do also mean all such as, following the same doctrine of the Turks, think to be saved by their works and demerits, and not by their faith only in the Son of God' (p. 98).[38]

Foxe's aim in tracing prophetic forewarnings of the Turks is, as we have seen, to reassure the reader of providential control over human affairs. The discerning of providential purpose behind the Turks' victories is not to consist merely in the mute acceptance of misfortune; the 'constitution of times' is for Foxe a precise patterning of historical events according to a typology that can be derived through detailed study of the Scriptures. The basic enmity between Christendom and the Turks can be traced by taking the history of Israel as a type of the fortunes of the church in subsequent ages:

> So that as the prophets of God, speaking to them from the mouth and word of God, prophesied what should come to pass in that people so, likewise, the whole course and history of those Israelites exemplifieth and beareth a prophetical image to us, declaring what is to be looked for in the universal church of God [...] according as Philip Melancthon, gravely gathering upon the same, testifieth in divers places in his commentary upon the prophet Daniel. (p. 94)

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[38] In seeing the Church of Rome as similar in essence to the religion of the Turks, Foxe is perhaps drawing on the writings of John Wycliffe as well as of Luther, see Southern, p. 79. The notion of a double Antichrist is a common one in the period, see, for example, Thomas Brightman, *A Revelation of the Apocalyps* (1611), Qqqq 4v, 'The name of Christian maketh no difference betweene the Turke and the Roman Antichrist, unlesse perhaps for to encrease his punishment, for asmuch as he had a greater meanes of truth and peace'.

Such a typological scheme allows for a seemingly endless multiplication of historical identifications, so that the history of the church may be read as a multivalent simultaneity with Biblical history.

In the church's confrontation with the Turks, Foxe sees a re-enactment of the primal fratricidal conflicts of the Old Testament:

> The history of godly Abel, slain by wicked Cain, what doth it import, or prophesy, but the condition of the people and servants of God, which commonly go to wrack in this world, and are oppressed by the contrary part, which belongeth not to God? (p. 94)[39]

In the same way, Foxe finds a type of the relationship of the Turkish empire to Christendom in the stories of 'Isaac and Ishmael; of Jacob and Esau: of whom those two who were the children of promise, and belonged to the election of God, were persecuted in this world by the others who were rejected' (p. 94).[40] This reading is concerned not merely with analogy, but with an objective sense of the Turks as congenital enemies of Christ: 'Where moreover, is to be noted concerning Ishmael, that of his stock, after the flesh, came the Saracens, whose sect the Turks do now profess and maintain'. Foxe's commitment to the sacral patterning of times, means that the fate of the Turks can be ascertained from that of their Biblical precursors (in this case, their ancestors), so that Foxe can hope that 'as Ishmael had but twelve sons; so it were to be wished of god, that this Solyman who is the twelfth of the Turkish generation, may be the last' (p. 94).

Numerological parallels such as this abound in Foxe's exposition of the times of the Antiochi and Ottomans. Citing Melancthon, Foxe finds a close correspondence between the durations of his Old and New Israels:

> The continuance of the law first given by Moses, unto the destruction of the said people by Titus, amounteth to one thousand five hundred and sixty-four years; so we, counting the age of the New Testament, and reckoning from the day of our redemption unto this present, be come now to the year 1534, lacking but only three and thirty years of the full number'. (p. 94)

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[39] Genesis 4. 1-16.

[40] The story of how Jacob gained his elder brother's birthright by trickery is told at Genesis 27. 1-46.

Similarly, the 'troubles and afflictions' of Israel lasted for the one hundred and sixty-six years intervening between defeat of the Jews by Antiochus and the coming of Christ, the same period that has elapsed between the end of the era of the loosing of Satan, with its 'miserable vexations and persecutions of Christian churches', and the present day (p. 95).[41] Similar patterns in the chronicles of the two dynasties confirm Foxe's typological eschatology: 'by Antiochus, Antichrist no doubt is figured and represented. This Antiochus surnamed Magnus, and Antiochus Epiphanes, his son, came of the stock of Seleucus Nicanor; much like as Mahomet the Turk, and Solyman, came of the stock of Ottoman, each dynasty enduring for the length of twelve reigns.[42]

As we noted above, Foxe introduces his presentation of the Turks as historic enemies of Israel with a trope of kinship, identifying them with the fratricidal Abel and the rejected brothers Esau and Ishmael. Intra-familial murder becomes in Foxe's discussion, as in other Renaissance period discussions of the Turks, a defining quality of Turkish rule. This feature is brought out very strongly in the table paralleling the times of the Syrians, Seleuci and Turkish Ottomans:

> Two pestilent families and generations, rising out, doubtless, from the bottomless pit, to plague the people of God, as in number of succession they do not much differ, so in manner of their doings and wicked abominations, they be as near agreeing, being both enemies alike to the people and church of Christ, both murdered and parricides of their own brethren and kindred. (p. 97)

Thus we read in Foxe's comparative table (p. 96) how Antiochus Theos 'killed Bernice his mother in law, and his young brother'; Seleucus Callinicus and his brother Antiochus Hierax 'warred one against the other'; Demetrius, brother of Epiphanes, 'killed Eupator his cousin', while Demetrius Nicanor was ejected by his own brother. On the Turkish side, Orchan 'slew his two brethren', Amurath 'put out the eyes of Sauces his own son',

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[41] Foxe is counting up to 1566, the year of the third edition of *Acts and Monuments*, and of the death of Süleyman the Magnificent.

[42] The case for the Pope as Antichrist is advanced by a similarly precise sense of the transition between epochs. Foxe notes that a period of 564 years separated the end of the Israelites' captivity and their final destruction, during which time they were governed by kings; taking the year C. E. 1000 as his starting point for the loosing of Satan and corrupting of the church, 'So we Christians', notes Foxe, 'for the space especially of these latter five hundred and sixty-four years, what have we seen and felt, but only the jurisdiction and domination of the pope and high priests playing the 'Rex' in all countries, and ruling the whole? Whereby, by the count of these years, it is to be thought the day of the Lord's coming not to be far off', Foxe, p. 95.

Bajazet 'slew Solyman his brother, and Calepinus 'was slain by Mahomet his brother'; Mahomet I 'slew Mustapha his brother' and Mahomet II 'slew his two brethren', and Bajazet 'warred against his brother Demes'. Selim 'Poisoned Bajazet his father, and his two brethren', while, anticipating the famous infanticide whose dramatisation by Greville is discussed in Chapter Five below, 'Solyman [...] slew Mustapha his own son, and was the death of Gianger his second son'.

Patterns of fratricide and patricide constitute a dominating trope across the European writing of the Turk. They operate both internally, giving a pattern to history writing, which is punctuated by repeated instances of intra-dynastic treachery, and externally, in the perception of the Turks as aggressive and rebellious kin of Christians. Genealogy also underlies descriptions of the religion of the Turks, where the 'wayward brother' motif derived from Ishmaelite descent of the Turks recurs through accounts of their Saracenic descent, and the biography of the Prophet Muhammad. This historical mode renders the religion of the Turks intelligible in relation to Christian truth by identifying it with a perverted relation of kinship with Christianity, as a misbegotten and bastard offshoot of the same Judaic root, and thus as a wayward brother to Christian truth. This characteristically pre-modern strategy of othering is thus situated within a paradoxical economy of the uncanny. What is most to be feared emerges within the very polemic intended to secure alienation as deeply familiar and inward.

Though cosmographers are seldom as strenuously mathematical as Foxe in addressing the 'constitution of times', the perception of the religion of the Turks as the playing out of a sacral-temporal pattern of kinship is also a standard feature of their writings. Like Foxe, they present the Turk as a 'rejected' brother, Christendom's 'contrary part', in a way that recapitulates the geographical contiguity of territories suggested by a traditional geography which traces the dispersal of peoples to the migrations of the sons of Noah.[43] However fiercely exclusive the purpose of writers, the discourses they fashion are realised in terms of imaginative involutions of the Christian story that serve to emphasise the parallelism of times. The history of the Turks is embedded within that of Christendom to produce something that resembles a being-alongside more than the Saidian absolute alterity. Writers such as Curio, Boemus and Carr offer various ways of

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[43] Margaret T. Hodgen, *Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1964), Ch VI, 'The Ark of Noah and the Problem of Cultural Diversity'.

inserting the Turks into Biblical history, reflecting the diversity of their source accounts. They are in striking agreement however as regards the centrality of genealogical patterns to their understandings of Turkish history.

Curio offers a complex account of the relationship between the Arabia of the Prophet and the origin of nations given in Genesis.[44] According to Curio, the three regions of *Arabia Deserta*, *Arabia Sabaea* or *Foelix* and *Sinus Arabicus*, take their names from the first inhabitants of Arabia, the three sons of Cures, nephew of Cham, son of Noah. There then follow waves of invasion that offer multiple ways of tracing the Abrahamic descent of the first Muslims. The Noachites were followed, first by the Ismaelites, sons of Abraham by Hagar, his concubine, then by his sons by Ketura, his second wife, and finally by descendants of Esau. These latter, he associates with the tribe referred to as 'Saracens' by Pliny and Ptolemy, an appellation Curio confirms etymologically: 'For Isaac, Esau his father, was the Sonne of Abraham by his wife Sara' (C4 v). Curio cites contrary opinions to the effect that Muhammad himself was descended either from the Ishmaelites, or from the line of Esau (D1 r). The disagreement is however a superficial one, in the sense that Ishmael and Esau each signify the rejected son in relation to Israel: Ishmael as the son of the expelled Egyptian bondwoman Hagar, cast out in favour of Isaac; Esau, also an elder son, who lost his birthright through Jacob's deception.

The concern with lineal patterns is writ large in early modern accounts of the life of Muhammad, conceived as a fabric of literal and figurative bastardy and mis-begetting.[45] The impurity of the Prophet's teaching is seen as a reflection of the *milieu* of an Arabia peopled not only by the descendants of the various Biblical lines, but also by a population of native pagan idolaters, and by Christian sectaries of various kinds:

> His ambicious and haultie mynde, gaped wythout measure. after promocion and authoritie. In so muche that consydering in hys mynde this great varietie of Sectes, hee was merveilously enflamed with a desyre to establishe and make

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[44] Thomas Newton, *A Notable Historie of the Saracens* [...] *Drawen out of Augustine Curio and sundry other good Authors* (1575), C4 r ff. Subsequent references are in the text. The story of the sons of Noah is extrapolated by cosmographers from Genesis 9. 18.

[45] On the medieval origins of early modern biographies of Muhammad, see Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1960), Chapter Three; R. W. Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962), pp. 26-9. Early modern expressions of this tradition are discussed in Nabil Matar, *Islam in Britain, 1558-1685* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), Ch. 5, 'Eschatology and the Saracens', p. 157.

> one manner of religion, and to take unto him as well the Soveraigntie of Empyre, as also of divine honour.[46]

A necessary element in this innovation is of course the falsifying of the line of descent claimed by the adherents of the new religion, a deceit Curio traces directly to the Prophet. As Carr expresses it, perhaps following Newton's translation of Curio:

> The Arabians, (which indeede be discended from Ismaell the sonne of Abraham, and of Agar his wives maide,) were called Agarins; hee caused to be ordained (in that it was not honorable for his people to carie the name of a woman servant,) that from thence forth they should be named Sarazens, deducted from the name of Sara, the lawfull wife of Abraham, alledging that Ismaell was engendred of Sara and not of Agar hir maiden. The which name of Sarazins, so long endured, unto such time as the Turkes dyd abollish both the name and the nation.[47]

Muhammad's false 'deduction' of Saracenic descent constitutes a defining instance of his 'imposture', a resonant word in Renaissance period texts about the Turks that includes complementary senses of 'impostor', one who pretends to be what he is not, and 'imposer', one who forces upon others the acceptance of false things in the place of true.

The biography of Muhammad provides frequent examples of slippage between 'The Prophet' and 'His Book'.[48] The Koranic law thus takes on the character of a Jewish/Pagan hybrid reflective of the Prophet's own mixed parentage, 'by meanes wherof', as Curio writes, '[...] he was in his tender age by [his parents] instructed and taught both the rites of the Hebrewes and the manner of worshipping the Gentiles used'.[49] The religious influences on his adolescence and early manhood were similarly mixed. After the early death of both parents, he became factor for a wealthy Ishmaelite, Abdimoneples, who sent him into Palestine, where he 'gotte great aquaintance and crepte highly in favour with the Hebrews, Christians and Gentiles'.[50] Naturally then, he

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[46] Newton, D2 r.
[47] Carr, R[affe?], *The Mahumetane or Turkish History* (1600), B4 r. See also Hugh Broughton, *Concent of Scripture* (1592): 'The Saracens be as naturally of Sara; as the pope hath truly holyness', G1 v.
[48] See Samuel C. Chew, *The Crescent and the Rose: England and Islam during the Renaissance* (New York: Octagon Books, 1965), Ch. 9.
[49] Carr, B4 r. For Curio, Muhammad's mother was a Jew, and his father a pagan idolater, see Newton, D1 r. Boemus varies this formula, stating that the Prophet's father was a 'worshipper of evil spirits and his mother an Ishmaelite, and therefore not ignorant of the true law' (pp. 134-5).
[50] Newton, D1 v.

formed no strong religious attachment of his own; the religion which he founded was little more than an amalgam of pre-existing teachings:

> Whilst his mother and father instructed him in both their lawes, they distracted the boy, and made him doubtfull and wavering betwixt both, so as being trained up in both religions, when he grew of mans estate, he followed neither of them, but being a very crafty fellow, and of a subtill wit, and long conversant with Christians, he framed and invented out of both those lawes, a religion most dangerous and pernicious to all mankinde.[51]

What is significant, in terms of the relationship between western biographies of Muhammad and the constructions of Koranic teaching which they uphold, is the way the motif of racial/religious mixing serves to undermine any sense of Islam as really a separate religion at all.[52] In typifying Islam as, 'a new kind of religion, patched and gathered together out of the erroneous Schisms and hereticall dreames of all Sectes' Curio expresses a conception that has had a long history in the West.[53]

'Imposture' characterises a wide range of materials about the life of the Prophet, ranging from the weighty and suggestive to the downright foolish. Curio includes a detailed account of Muhammad's physical appearance and behaviour which evinces the view of Islam he wishes to expound. He tells us, for example, that Muhammad had 'a long bearde, and yet not hoare: because alwayes as it beganne to waxe graye, with oyntmentes he altered it'.[54] The propensity for 'alteration' of course reiterates his alteration of the Jewish and Christian law in the Koran. Deceit is the keynote here however, with Muhammad seen in his practical affairs as 'fickle mynded and double in all his doings' and 'a deepe counterfeytor and dissembler in everye matter' (D2 r). In marrying the rich widow Hadigia, he is motivated by greed for her wealth, while his

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[51] E. Aston, *The Maners, Laws and Customs of All Nations* (1610), p. 135.

[52] Henry's Smith interprets the impurity of Muhammad's teaching as a ploy to increase his following: 'Mahomet's religion is a patched religion, mixed partly with Judaism, partly with Gentilism, being subtilely contrived for the erecting of the same, see 'God's Arrow Against Atheism', in *The Works of Henry Smith* ed. by Thomas Fuller (Edinburgh: James Nichol, 1867), 2 vols., Vol. 2, p. 405.

[53] Newton, D3 r. This approach to Islam has proved extremely durable: C. F. Beckingham, in *Between Islam and Christendom: Travellers, Facts and Legends in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1983), p. 616, describes as characteristic of the nineteenth century, the view that Islam is 'an admixture of degraded pagan Arab notions and "higher" concepts which Muhammad had derived from Jews and Christians whom he had met', while Jabal Muhammad Buaben, in *Image of the Prophet Muhammad in the West: A Study of Muir, Margoliouth and Watt* (Leicester: Islamic Foundation, 1996), p. 304, cites a scholarly article published by D. S. Margoliouth as recently as 1933 under the title, 'Is Islam a Christian Heresy?'.

[54] Newton, D1 r. Subsequent references are in the text.

Revelations are merely an improvised explanation for his recurrent bouts of epilepsy. This deception is fuelled by his ambition, to the point where, puffed up by his success in acquiring a second rich wife, Ayesha, after Hidigia's death, he publicly declares himself the messenger of God.

A very fluid notion of Turkish lineality underlies Turkish history as early modern writers understand it, enabling them to locate within a single economy of origin the contemporary Ottoman adversary and peoples taken to predate the rise of the current dynasty by many centuries. Newton's translation of Curio, though published as *A Notable Historie of the Saracens,* is in fact cast as an early history of the Turks, covering the period up to, and not including, the eponymous Ottoman. Subsequent events are omitted because, as he notes, the later deeds of the Turks 'be severally written and described by many others', whereas the origins of Turkish power in the early rise of the Saracens remain 'buried in the rustye dungeon of cankard oblyvyon'.[55]

Carr renders this tradition in more detail, pointing out that the Saracens, a tribe of Arabia, were first attracted to the newly founded sect of Muhammad when the Byzantine emperor Heraclius failed to pay them for mercenary services against the Persians. King Homisda of the Persians sought the aid of the Turks, 'who among them at that time had no manner of law or policy'.[56] Defeated by the Saracens, the Turks became tributaries of these converts to Islam, adopting their religion and customs with the greater zeal because of the anarchy in which they had previously lived. 'Thus they lived together about three hundred yeeres,' continues Carr, 'that they were accounted in manner to be of one nacion' (C2 r), until the Saracens finally ceased to have any separate existence. To return to Curio: 'The Turks who nowe enjoy all their [i.e. the Saracens'] dominions', writes Curio, 'have received from them as next heires unto them, both their Religion and Kingdoms'.[57]

This transfer of power from Muhammad to the Saracens to the Turks is one that culminates in the present day exercise of power by the Ottoman sultans, in a process suggestive of the classical notion of *translatio imperii*, in which cultures become the descendents of earlier exemplars, not by blood, but by voluntary filiation. Implying as it does the capacity for cultural aspiration, the notion of an oriental *translatio imperii*

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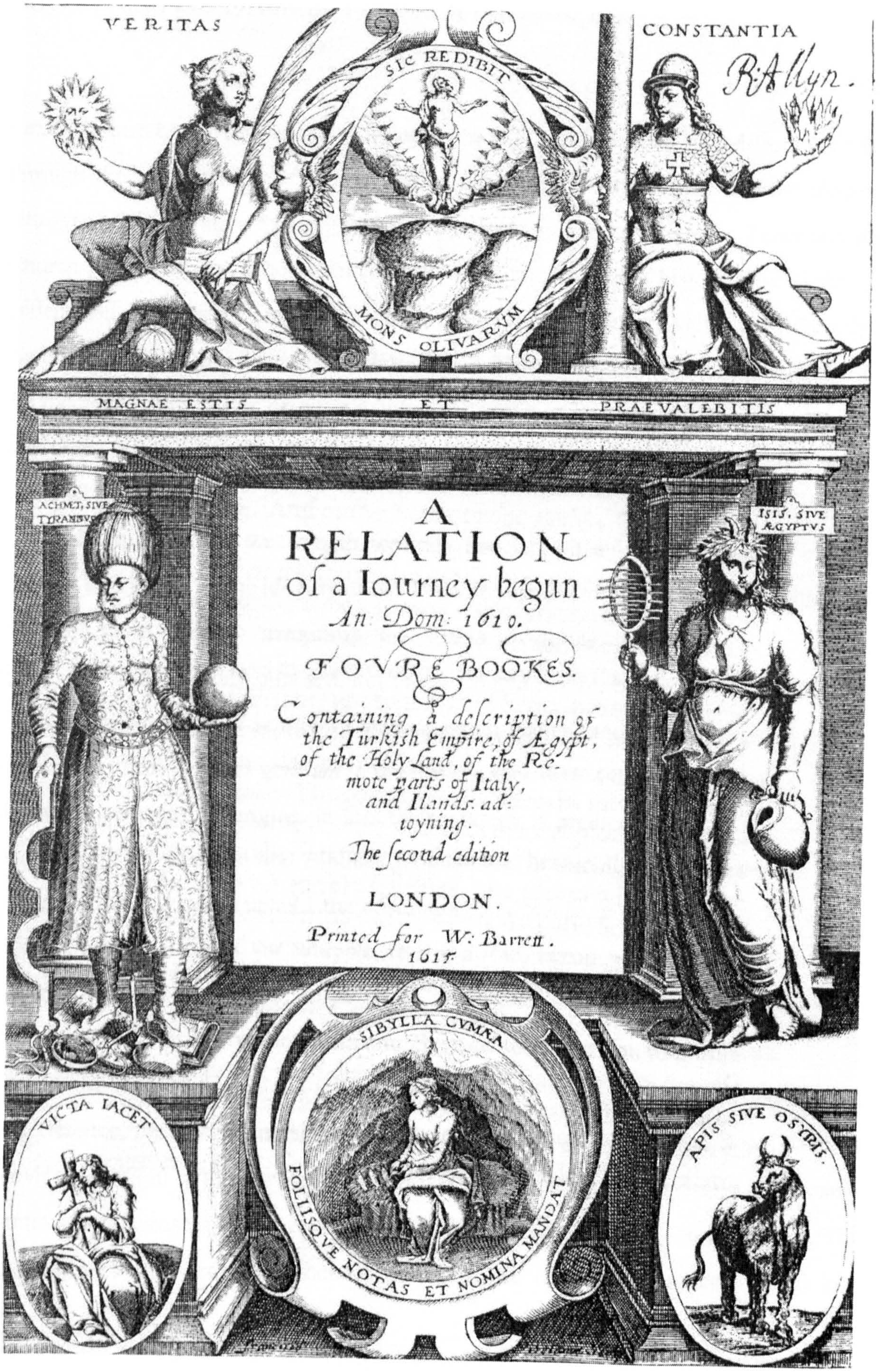
[55] Newton, C1 v.
[56] Carr, C2 r. Subsequent references are in the text.
[57] Newton, C4 r.

governing the ascent of the Turks is a suggestive and challenging one for early modern writers. As we will see in Chapter Two, anxieties over the possibility that the Turks can exceed their ancient limit are just as prevalent in classicising narratives of Turkish different as they are within the sacral economy of origins.


VERITAS
SIC REDIBIT
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CONSTANTIA
R. A Llyn.
MAGNAE ESTIS ET PRAEVALEBITIS
ACHMET, SIVE TYRANNVS
ISIS, SIVE ÆGYPTVS
A RELATION
of a Iourney begun
An: Dom: 1610.
FOVRE BOOKES.
Containing a description of the Turkish Empire, of Ægypt, of the Holy Land, of the Remote parts of Italy, and Ilands adioyning.
The second edition
LONDON.
Printed for W: Barrett.
1615.
SIBYLLA CVMÆA
FOLIISQVE NOTAS ET NOMINA MANDAT
VICTA IACET
APIS SIVE OSIRIS.

Chapter Two

Scythia and the Oriental Translation of Empire

Foxe confines his investigations to a single line of Turkish descent traced from Ishmael through the early history of the Saracens to the life of Muhammad and the modern Ottomans. His narrative of the lineage of the Turks is one in which the Turks and the Church play out their immemorial conflict within the unfolding history. The Turks are understood as a sort of antichurch, under their ruler Antichrist. Along with the other materials explored in Chapter One, Foxe's is a historical mode within the tradition of the medieval study of the *origines gentium*, a branch of learning whose main objective was to explain the diversity of peoples with reference to the account of their origin and dispersal in Genesis.[1]

In this chapter, we turn to writings that exhibit a broader sense of cultural lineage, seeking to fix the identity of the Turks in relation to the Christian inheritance of Graeco-Roman culture, imagining the Turks in terms borrowed from classical geography as implacably opposed, not to the Church *per se*, but to the whole classical-Christian world, defined as a unity encompassing ancient and modern times. Classical inflections of the *origines gentium* in the Renaissance period do not constitute a rival to the sacral economy of origins, in that their strategy is predicated on the possibility of harmonising the classical and Biblical geographies. In tracing the Turks to a Scythian origin, writers typically uphold the cosmographers' sense of the Turks as basically a Biblical people. Boemus, for example, retains a Herodotean symbolism of Scythia as a space of anarchic nomadism, while at the same time grafting the classical geography onto the Biblical one by tracing the name 'Scythia' to Araxis, the wife of Noah.[2]

The writings presented in this Chapter do however present a distinct articulation of difference, for Scythia, agreed by a consensus of writers in the high Renaissance to provide the origin of the Turks, affords an image of absolute alterity that stands in stark contrast to the sense of inter-relatedness which characterises Foxe's sacral history. This image nevertheless proves self-deconstructing in two ways: first, because, though later

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[1] See J. Bickerman, 'Origines Gentium', *Classical Philology*, 47 (1952), 65-81; S. Reynolds, 'Medieval *origines gentium* and the Community of the Realm', *History*, 68 (1983), 375-90.
[2] E. Aston, *The Maners, Laws and Customs of all Nations* (1610), pp. 106-7.

writers expressly disavow claims common in the early Renaissance that the Turks are sprung from the Trojans, their writings continue to be haunted by a trace of Turkish *Romanitas* that unsettles the confident assurance that the Turks are barbarous. Secondly, the manifest change undergone by the Turks in their move from Scythia to Constantinople serves to render the reliance on origins aporetic, for if the Turks can change to the degree suggested by recent history, they are no longer 'fixed' by their putative origin.

The visual text with which we open this chapter, the Frontispiece to Sandys's *A Relation of a Journey Begun An. Dom. 1610* (1615), exemplifies the classicising of the sacral narrative. The *Relation*, which went through six English editions before 1672, and had been translated into Dutch and German by 1669, clearly enjoyed considerable currency.[3] The text blends passages of travel narrative and observation with formal topographies, frequently illustrated by appropriate classical quotations, given in English in the main text and in Latin in the margins. The strategy behind this mode of presentation is a reading of the Mediterranean world which reserves antiquarian prestige for classical glories long since eclipsed, while denigrating the present-day rule of the Ottomans. The intention, explained in the Dedication, is to contrast the sub-human Turks and the excellence of those they have unseated:

> [These] countries once so glorious, and famous for their happy estate, are now through vice and ingratitude, become the most deplored spectacles of extreme miserie: the wild beasts of mankind having broken in upon them, and rooted out all civilitie; and the pride of a sterne and barbarous Tyrant possessing the thrones of ancient and just dominion [...] Those rich lands at this present remaine wast and overgrowne with bushes, receptacles of wild beasts, of theeves and murderers [...] goodly cities made desolate; sumptuous buildings become ruines; glorious Temples either subverted, or prostituted to impietie, true religion discountenanced and oppressed; all Nobility extinguished; no light of learning permitted, nor Vertue cherished.[4]

This passage sets out Sandys's programme for a description of the Ottoman Empire that centres on a classical-Christian sense of what it means to be civil, in which the

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[3] Brandon H. Beck, *From the Rising of the Sun: English Images of the Ottoman Empire to 1715* (New York: P. Lang, 1987), p. 54. Image precedes p. 56.
[4] George Sandys, *A Relation of a Journey Begun An: Dom: 1610* (1615), 'To the Prince'.

present is viewed with an eye always on the ancient past, and a rejection of the Turks as inimical to civility.

The publishing success of Sandys's *Relation* was perhaps in part owing to its luxurious presentation as a generous folio adorned with over fifty engravings, and a magnificent Frontispiece, one of the period's most complex and beautiful, probably from the workshop of Francis Delaram.[5] The Frontispiece is a microcosm of the view of history which informs the *Relation*, and as such also a complex text of cultural geography in its own right. Bearing in mind David Harley's broad definition of maps as 'graphic representations that facilitate a spatial understanding of things, concepts, conditions, processes, or events in the human world', it would not be inappropriate to view it as a kind of map.[6]

The four-fold composition of the Frontispiece introduces the contents of the *Relation*, with depictions of the Ottoman Sultan, the Egyptian goddess Isis, Christ and the Cumaean Sibyl representing the four books of the *Relation*, which describe Turkey, Egypt, Palestine and Italy respectively. The horizontal-vertical disposition is strictly cartographic, in that the four figures are placed according to their territorial correlates. We can see this clearly from a comparison between the Frontispiece and the map, based on Ortelius, which follows it in the preliminaries.[7] The large figures of Ahmet I and Isis, left and right in the Frontispiece, echo the greater extents of Turkish Asia Minor and Egypt respectively, while the smaller panels showing Christ and the Sibyl indicate the smaller territories of Palestine and Italy. There is thus a clear correspondence between the size and position of the elements and the land masses they represent. The most obvious alteration in the translation from map to Frontispiece, a change of orientation, is also suggestive, in that the Frontispiece, by placing East

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[5] See Arthur M. Hind, *Engraving in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: A Descriptive Catalogue with Introductions, Part II: The Reign of James I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952-64), pp.238-9. Another Frontispiece by Delaram is discussed by Margery Corbett and Ronald Lightblown in *The Comely Frontispiece: The emblematic Title-page in England 1550-1660* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979), p. 163. The close relationship between the Frontispiece and content of Sandys's *Relation* is such as to imply that, though executed by Delaram, it was basically authored by Sandys. I therefore refer to Sandys as the author of the Frontispiece in this discussion.

[6] J. B. Harley and David Woodward, *The History of Cartography*, 6 vols., Vol. 1: 'Cartography in prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean' (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), xvi. John Gillies, *Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 54-5, notes the usefulness of Harley's work as a means of approach to texts with map-like qualities that, like Sandys's Frontispiece, fall outside the province of the conventional history of cartography.

[7] The map is too large for satisfactory reproduction here.

rather than North at the top, evokes an older tradition of sacral cartography in which Jerusalem is at the head of the map.[8]

The contiguity of the Frontispiece and the Ortelian map in Sandys's preliminaries suggests what John Gillies has described as a bringing together of 'old' and 'new' geographies, the one derived from Christian and classical narratives of the origin of peoples, and the other from the advancement of scientific techniques in cartography during the century from 1550. The moment of the *Relation* is one of a plural geographic imaginary, in which the revolution in map-making coincides with a sustained interest in ancient geographies, both classical and Christian.[9] The Ortelian map shows Sandys's awareness of current cartography, while the Frontispiece evokes an 'old' geography, not in an antiquarian spirit, but as an implicit narrative of the *origines gentium* that enables readers simultaneously to locate the Turks and themselves in relation to a sacral-classical account of the cultural lineage of the West.[10] It is this narrative that I now wish to explore.

Dominant among the elements of the Frontispiece, and crucial to reading it, is the image of Christ in the oval panel at the head of the design. The upper caption, *sic redibit,* 'thus he will return', paraphrases the account of the Ascension in the Acts of the Apostles, in which two angels address the bewildered Apostles: 'Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye looking into heaven? this same Jesus, which is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven'.[11] The image shows Christ descending with arms outstretched; the lower caption specifies the location as the Mount of Olives, traditionally held on the basis of the passage in Acts to be the site of the Second Coming as well as of the Ascension. The depiction of Christ thus invokes the Foxeian sacral narrative of the Turks; this in turn provides a key to the complex temporal coding of the whole design, which encompasses the whole of history,

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[8] On the Medieval cartographic background, see Jerry Brotton, *Trading Territories: Mapping the Early Modern World* (London: Reaktion, 1997), pp. 28 ff. Delaram has of course overlooked the fact that Egypt in the seventeenth century is under Turkish rule, but this is quite in line with the privilege of the ancient characteristic of the work as a whole. Book 2, describing Egypt, is of the four Books the most heavily dependent on ancient sources, with barely an acknowledgement of the contemporary Ottoman presence.
[9] Gillies, pp. 35, 158. Gillies notes that, alongside the dissemination of new maps from the Low Countries, prestigious new English editions of the Roman Geographers Pliny, Solinus and Pomponius Mela appeared around the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
[10] Jonathan Haynes, *The Humanist as Traveller: George Sandys's Relation of a Journey begun An. Dom. 1610* (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1986), p. 16, notes that the Ortelian map, while more 'accurate' in its representation of the contours of lands and waters, employs a Latin nomenclature that scrupulously avoids any acknowledgement of Ottoman rule.
[11] Acts 1. 11.

from the mythic origin of civility to the final, apocalyptic consummation. In depicting the end of time over the figures of Isis and Sultan Ahmet, Sandys asserts the final triumph of Christ over pagan religion and the temporal power of the Turks respectively. The motto on the entablature of the classical portico that frames the two standing figures, *magnae estis et praevalebitis*, 'you are great and shall prevail', apostrophises the personified figures of *Veritas* and *Constantia*, depicted left and right of the image of Christ. At the same time, it implies an address to the Christian reader, who is to look forward to the expected final defeat of non-Christian peoples. In harmonising classical and Christian trajectories, the Frontispiece asserts at once a perfect continuity in the modulation from classical civility to Christian truth, and the denigration of Turkey and Egypt, suggesting a scale of cultural value that presents the achievements of Egypt and Turkey as powerful, but ultimately marginal, in relation to the more commanding vertical axis.

Appropriately for an eschatological text, space in the Frontispiece also signifies time, with the finality of Christ's return bursting out of heaven at the end of the ages set against an image of the Sibyl that suggests at once the temporal origin of human society, and a complementary, subterranean and infernal spatial extreme of the universe. The panel depicting Christ is placed in a symbolically charged relation not only to the figures of Ahmet and Isis but, through the dominating vertical axis of the Frontispiece, to the Cumaean Sibyl, a figure who evokes the Virgilian narrative of the origins of civility, revealing the classical dimension of Sandys's syncretic geography. The image is based on *Aeneid* 6, a central text in the classical humanist account of the origins of peoples.[12] The Book describes Aeneas's visit to the Sibyl's cave, the prophetic utterances which he receives there, and his descent to the underworld, where, meeting his dead father Anchises, he is shown the future greatness of the city he will found. Included in this vision are future rulers of Rome, its founder Romulus, Julius Caesar, and Augustus, to whom the poem is dedicated (ll. 778-794). The Book culminates in the old man's famous prophetic confirmation of Rome's Imperial destiny:

> *Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento*
> *(hae tibi erunt artes), pacique imponere morem,*
> *parcer subiectis et debellare superbos.* (ll. 851-3)

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[12] Virgil, *Eclogues, Georgics and Aeneid 1-6*, trans. by H Rushton Fairclough (Cambridge, MA: LOEB, 1999). Subsequent references are in the text.

> You, Roman, be sure to rule the world (be these your arts), to crown peace with justice, to spare the vanquished and to crush the proud.

The context is an apt motto for Sandys's project, which seeks both to valorise a cultural line descending from ancient Rome to present-day Christendom, and to denigrate the peoples excluded from this lineage.

The tag that forms the caption for Sandy's depiction of the Sibyl is a telling alteration of the sense of the Virgilian line on which it is based. The Latin, *foliis tantum ne carmina manda* (l. 74), 'trust not your verses to leaves', expresses Aeneas's request to the Sibyl before she begins to prophesy to chant the oracle's message, lest a written record be destroyed by mischance. Sandys's rendering, 'she entrusted writings and names to leaves', counters the Virgilian sense by asserting that the record of the prophecies was in fact written down. This detail perhaps refers to the Sibylline Books later housed at Rome.[13] More significantly, it serves to elevate the cultural role of Sandys's own writing. This glancing reference to Sandys's own authorship is rendered more immediate by showing the Sibyl in the act of writing, and by the depiction of *Veritas*, top left, with her palm and book. As Aeneas prepares for his *descensus*, the complement within this poetic geography to the Ascension and return of Christ, the Sibyl sanctions Sandys's act of authorship as a crusading Odyssey.

If the central strategy of the Frontispiece is one of valorising classical-Christian writing, material conflict between Christians and Turks is also signalled by the depiction of *Constantia* armoured and emblazoned with the cross like a crusading knight, and bearing the flame of truth. Just as the motif of the palm links *Veritas* to the Sibyl, the cross serves to link *Constantia* to the panel at the bottom left of the design, which depicts the pitiful figure of a mourning woman clutching a cross. The motto *victa lacet*, 'the conquered one [feminine] is laid low' refers to the church under Ottoman rule, and specifically to the formerly Christian 'goodly cities made desolate' referred to in the Dedication: Jerusalem, and with a possible play on *Constantia*, Constantinople.

The designation of Ahmet I, centre left, as *tyrannus* serves to bring the cultural geography of the Frontispiece up to date, locating the current Turkish ruler within the analytic framework of classical political theory. The image of the Sultan is based on an

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[13] M. C. Howatson, *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 521.

engraving taken from Boissard's *Vitae et Icones Sultanorum*, a work which also furnished the illustrations to Knolles's *Generall Historie of the Turkes*. To this source, Sandys has added details expressive of Turkish incivility, the broken scales and trampled books at his feet. These express at once the Turks' disdain for law, suggesting the anarchy of the Scythians, whom Sandys evokes as the forbears of the Turks in Book I of the *Relation* (E3 v), and the Turkish disdain for the Christian scriptures; the beam of the scales is shaped like a yoke, suggesting the oppression of Christians in the Ottoman lands.[14]

The Sultan bears in his left hand an orb, a symbol of world domination consciously modelled on the Roman *orbis terrae*, and used in the iconography of the Seraglio at Constantinople, where several chambers featured such a globe suspended from the ceiling.[15] The design of the Frontispiece provides a telling gloss on this outlandish Turkish claim, by contrasting Ahmet's globe with a second globe, depicted in the symbolically privileged space above the architrave, at the feet of *Veritas*. This second globe is marked with lines of longitude that emphasise superior knowledge of geography as a feature of the truth of the West. Turkish claims to world dominance were grounded in imperial self-fashioning in the image of figures from the 'western' classics by successive sultans.[16] One form of this classical aspiration was the self-modelling of successive sultans on Alexander the Great.[17] Grafton, writing in 1524, also notes Süleyman's predilection for Greek philosophy, contrary to the common claim that letters are entirely neglected in the Ottoman Empire:

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[14] See Nebahat Avcioğlu, 'Ahmed I and the allegories of Tyranny in the Frontispiece to George Sandys's *Relation of a Journey*', *Muqarnas: An Annual on the visual Culture of the Islamic World*, 18 (2001), 203-26. Avcioğlu traces the broken scales, a standard image of tyranny in the Renaissance, to the *Iconologia* of Cesare Ripa.

[15] See Gülrü Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (New York: Architectural History Foundation, 1991), pp. 82, 86, 214, and Halil Inalcık, 'State and Ideology under Süleyman the Magnificent', *The Middle East and the Balkans*, 9 (1993), 70-94, p. 79. Inalcık suggests that that the orb was intended as a deliberate echo of the Roman *orbis terrae.*

[16] Cemal Kafadar: *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1995), Introduction; Halil Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age, 1300-1600*, trans. by Norman Itkowitz and Colin Imber (New York: Praeger Publications, 1973), pp. 56, 79. On Mehmet II's claim to Trojan ancestry, see the discussion of a spurious letter attributed to the sultan by western writers in the late fifteenth century in Michael J. Heath, 'Renaissance Scholars and the Origin of the Turks', *BHR*, 41 (1979), 453-71, p. 455.

[17] Necipoğlu, p. 12; Anon., *The Turkes Secretorie, Conteining His Sundrie Letter Sent to Divers Emperours* (1607), B3 v.

> The Great Turcke hath some bookes of Arystotles philosopye translated into the Arabique tongue whych he redeth some tymes, and so dyd hys predecessours.[18]

Mehmet the Conqueror had even claimed that the Turks were descended from the Trojans, in a well-known letter in which he referred to the Italians as cousins, implying a Roman lineage for the Turks parallel and oppositional in relation to that claimed by the West.[19]

Underlying Sandys's pairing of an image of Christ with one derived from Roman aetiological myth, is the claim that the English were descended from the Trojans through the line of Brutus. The claim was not exclusive to England, and is paralleled by a proliferation of origin myths among many emergent European nation states in the sixteenth century.[20] Heather James has noted that, 'detached from its original embededness in [...] Virgil's *Aeneid* [...] it bore the mark of an abstracted and politically usable authority'.[21] This utility in fact proves double-edged, for Sandys's evocation of an idea of English *Romanitas* is countered by an equivalent claim on behalf of the Turks, advanced not only by the Ottoman sultans themselves, but by a major strand in Renaissance ethnogeny that upheld the Trojan lineage of the Turks.[22]

The main arguments cited by earlier Renaissance writers in favour of the Trojan theory are an etymology that derived *Turci*, 'Turks' from *Teucri*, 'Trojans', and a historical sense of the conquest of Constantinople as just revenge for the ancient Greeks' war against Troy. Such a view suggests a certain sympathy for the Turks, which Yapp associates with a tradition of medieval romance that presented the Turks as chivalrous knights. Implying as it did a lineage held in common by Turks and Europeans, the Trojan theory found little favour in the High Renaissance. What replaced it was an alternative lineage, also derived from classical geography, in which the Turks were descended from Herodotus's nomadic and lawless Scythians. The first

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[18] Richard Grafton, *The Order of the Greate Turkes Courte* [...] *Translated oute of French* (1524), E2 v.
[19] Heath, p. 455.
[20] For the French equivalent of the myth of Brutus, see Clarence Dana Rouillard, *The Turk in French History, Thought, and Literature*, 1520-1660 (Paris: Boivin and Co., 1940), [no trans. on title page] p. 57.
[21] Heather James, *Shakespeare's Troy: Drama, Politics and the Translation of Empire* (Cambridge:Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 21. The Virgilian background to Elizabethan deployments of the myth of Brutus is explored by Donna B. Hamilton in Peter Hulme and William H. Sherman, eds., *The Tempest and its Travels* (London: Reaktion, 2001).
[22] On the contested theories of Turkish origins, see Heath, pp. 434-6, Terence Spencer, 'Turks and Trojans in the Renaissance', *MLR*, 47 (1952), 330-333; M. E. Yapp, Europe in the Turkish Mirror', *P&P*, 137 (1992), 134-55, p. 141.

to propose a Scythian origin for the Turks, Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, Pope Pius II, presented it as part of a justification for a crusade, and argued that, 'if the Turks were of the same stock as the Romans, they would not hold literature in such scorn'.[23] Where the Trojan theory suggested an ambivalence about the otherness of the Turks, a Scythian origin linked them to the people warred against by Alexander the Great, suggesting that 'The Turks' hostility towards Christendom, and towards Graeco-Roman civilization in general, was an hereditary trait'.[24]

Despite the obvious force of this argument however, the Trojan theory continued to make what Spencer calls 'a strong appeal to the imagination' in the High Renaissance, one that is registered most notably in the writings of Joseph Scaliger.[25] None of the writers in English of the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries considered in this thesis upholds a Trojan origin for the Turks. Implications of Turkish *Romanitas* nevertheless surface time and again in works about the Turks, suggesting that the Trojan theory's 'appeal to the imagination' was keenly felt. Sandys himself, though stating expressly that the Turks are descended from the Scythians, struggles when he comes to Troy, citing without comment a passage from Scaliger clearly implying that the Turks are Trojans:

> Old Troy by Greeks twice sackt, twice new Greece rued
> Her conquering ancestors. First when subdued
> By Rome's bold Trojan progenie; and now
> When forc't through Turkish insolence to bow.[26]

A similar strain emerges where, citing Seneca, he compares the philosophy of the Turks to the Stoicism of the Romans, and the Ottoman royal standard to the helm of horsehair helmet won by Paris.[27]

Citing a French history of the Turks from the mid-sixteenth century, Heath notes the crucial role of ethnology in histories of the Turks that start with Scythia:

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[23] Spencer, p. 332-3; Heath, p. 461.
[24] Heath, p. 453.
[25] Spencer, p. 332.
[26] Sandys, C4 r.
[27] Sandys, F5 r, F1 v. A similar point is made by Grafton, who supplies a Virgilian quotation to illustrate his observation of a horse-hair banner at the Great Seraglio in Constantinople that 'hangeth [...] for the remembraunce of Alexander the great', B5 r.

> Observation of the Turks confirmed the [Scythian] theory: their customs, dress, horsemanship, weapons, tactics, language and dialects *omnino Scythica sunt*.[28]

Ethnological description however often provides a rather unstable index of cultural likeness, and writers who are unequivocal in denying the Turks a Trojan origin are frequently drawn back to comparisons between the Turks and Romans. Goughe's *Ofspring of the House of Ottomano* sets out 'The Originall Beginning of the Turkish Empyre and Lineall Race of theyr Emperours', claiming that their Scythian origin is attested by 'all the auncyente hystoryographers' and also by their 'maners, face, countenances, pryde, rashenes [and] wonderfull audacity'.[29] Like many writers however, he also emphasises the Turks' 'trade and order in fyghting' as a potent cause of their ascendancy, and frames his approving comments as a positive comparison between Turkish and classical approaches to warfare: the sultan's troops 'kepe with such justice and severitie the discipline of want, the lawes and customs in battell, that in this behalfe they may seme farre to passe the Gretians and Romanes'.[30] They are not merely as effective as the Greeks and Romans, but excel on precisely the same criteria of discipline and lawfulness.

This example from Goughe illustrates the instability of the Scythian lineage of 'power' in its military sense. The same ambivalence characterises discussions of the political and dynastic power of the Turks, as we can see from the sustained meditation on the origins of civil power in the Preface to Newton's *Notable Historie of the Saracens* (1575). As we noted in Chapter One, Newton presents his text as background to the history of the Turks, bridging the gap from life of Muhammad to the rise of the Ottomans. The main concern of the Preface is the conditions governing the rise and fall of empires, which Newton associates chiefly with the transition from a condition of nomadic anarchy, 'when men after a brutishe sort lyved abroad in the woods and fields' (B2 r), to the formation of associative bonds which lead to the establishment of kingship. The example of Rome taken by Newton is clearly suggested by the obvious analogy between Romulus who, 'of a poore and beggarly shepherd, was advanced to the degree

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[28] Heath, 466.
[29] Hugh Goughe, *The Offspring of the House of Ottomano* [...] *Whereunto is added Bartholomeus Georgieviz Epitome* (1569), B1 r-v.
[30] Goughe, B6r. Bacon makes the same point in his essay, 'Of the True Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates', see Francis Bacon, *The Essays or Counsels Civil and Moral*, ed. by Brian Vickers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 71.

of a king' (B2 v), and the eponymous Ottoman, implying a parallel between the Roman and the Turkish ascent from nomadism to civility.

Newton's Preface sets out in general terms the determining role of the 'originall' in history, expounding a historical method that privileges origin as the sole means for determining the success and failure of states. He equates success with civility, and civility with ethical principles in civil conduct. He assumes a perfect congruence between origin and success: the successful nation will always be found to have descended from an admirable origin; equally, the civil societies of ancient times always gave rise to a successful progeny.

> If we would peruse and rip up th'auncient beginnings of al kingdoms, and throughly consider their fyrst originall, wee shall finde that so many of them as long flourished, were by most honest. (B1 r)

The argument, which implies a parallel between the Roman and Turkish Empires, clearly undercuts an ethnological programme expressed in the Dedication as to 'set down, how, when, and by whom, this pestilent Generation [of the Saracens/Turks] was first set abroche'.

Further examples of the process of imperial development cited by Newton include Alexander's Macedonian Empire and also to Carthage, suggesting that Newton does not intend to restrict civil virtue to the Graeco-Roman-Christian West. Even Muslim states, it seems, are to be analysed in the same way as Christian ones:

> In this bond of concord the Sarracens a weake and slender rable of Payzants at the fyrst, being ioyned and linked together, overcame and possessed verye many provinces [...] by this meanes the power of the Turks at the fyrst and ever since hath increased. (B3 r)

Thus far, Newton locates the histories of the Saracens and Turks within a universal *schema* that depends on a secular model of the origins of civility. With Turkey, as with Rome, the extent and nature of a people's 'flourishing' is to provide the determining criterion for discussions of their 'originall'. At this point however, Newton encounters a difficulty that leads him to negate the argument he has so carefully rehearsed. His secularised notion of the 'originall' conflicts with the wider aim of a project whose

parameters cannot embrace the commendation of Muslim states implied in the Epistle, and still less the idea of Turkish *Romanitas*.

Renaissance Oriental histories, far from admitting universal principles by which Muslim states may be judged positively in relation to Christian ones, are in fact organised around a Christian rejection of infidel power, rather than any purely civil sense.[31] Having produced an account of the personal origins of power whose terms imply Turkish civility, Newton now modulates into a strategy of alterisation grounded in a religious sense of enmity, restating the project of the *Notable Historie* as one concerned primarily with the effects discord on Christian states:

> The civill division of the Greeques amonge themselves was the only cause that the flourishing empire of Constantinople was brought under the miserable yoke and slaverye of a Nation most barbarous. (B4 r)

Turkey, formerly considered as part of an analysis of historical causation that is essentially relativistic, is now seen from without, as the assailant of the Christian powers with which the Christian reader is to identify. The Preface concludes with a conventional denunciation of 'the great Turke [who] is ready every day to spyll our bloud and to work our confusion possessing and having alredy under his jurisdiction many of the Christian Provinces' (C1 r).

The tension between notions of the infidel and notions of civility that surfaces so abruptly in Newton's Preface reveals a fault-line in Renaissance writings about the Turks. Where the analytical tools available prove inadequate to the task of establishing the Turks as absolutely other (defined in this case in terms of cultural proximity to or distance from Rome), analysis is displaced by polemic that defines barbarism simply as the absence of Christianity. Underlying such inconsistency is a central bind concerning the role of the origin in history: If the Turks, at first a chaotic and barbarous rabble, are now fearful and threatening, but also according to classical measure, a civil world power, how reliable is origin as a guide to the future course of empires?

The idea of the Turk as Trojan, rather than simply disappearing in the sixteenth century, in fact continues to play a crucial negative role in the discussion of Turkish origins, with writers arguing that ethnographic observation disproves the idea of a

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[31] Yapp, p. 142.

genetic connection between Rome and Troy. The Preface to John Shute's rendering of Cambino's treatise on the Turks is a representative example of this strategy:

> The Turquish nation after the opinion of divers writers chiefly of these of late yeres for that they have sene them rule in those partes where the citie of Troy once was, and havynge regarde to their name, have affirmed that thei are discended from Teucri, from whence the Trojans had their originall, the which is utterly false, for in dede that nation which at this present dwelleth in the lesser Asia under the rule of the house of Ottomano: beinge of nature cruell and barbarous, toke originall from the Scithianes.[32]

As Shute's language clearly shows, origin is here employed deductively, a conclusion inevitably drawn from what is taken as their self-evidently barbarous nature. Refutation however entails repetition, suggesting that there were powerful and obvious reasons why writers should be inevitably drawn back to Rome for an image of Turkish power.

Ashton's translation of Paolo Giovio (Jovius) elaborates further on the ethnological evidence for the Scythian origin of the Turks:

> The Turkes doubtles had thir beginnyng of those Scithiens whome we cal nowe a dayes Tartariens, whiche doe enhabite the waste grounde and wyldernesse beyonde the Caspien sea, aboute the flood Volga: The which thing may easily be percyved, not only by theyr outward manours and face, but also by the fashion of theyr shotynge, and customes of warre, but chefely by their stoute and portelyke behaviour in their talke, agreable in all pointes to the Scithiens.[33]

Ashton's methodology for establishing the origins of the Turks starts from the position that they are barbarous, and deduces the origin from present day reality. Scythia is preferred as a quintessential type of barbarism attested in many ancient sources, and ethnological observation is then called upon to furnish proofs of what is assumed *a priori* about the essential nature of the Turks. These proofs, which take the form of

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[32] John Shute, *Two very notable Commentaries the one of the originall of the Turkcs, written by Andrewe Cambine, and thother of the warres of the Turcke against George Scanderbeg* (1562), A1 v. For other examples of the restatement of the Trojan theory in the context of an argument for the Scythian, see Anon., *The policy of the Turkish Empire. The First Booke* (1597), C2 v; George Whetstone, *The English Myrror: A Regard wherin al estates may behold the conquests of envy* (1586), E3 r.

[33] Peter Ashton, *A shorte treatise upon the Turkes Chronicles, compyled by Paulus Jovius* (1547).

observed resemblances between the Turks and ancient authors' descriptions of the Scythians, thus function within a hermeneutic circulation, the mainspring of which is rather transparently polemical. The problem that the texts clearly confront is how to square the circle when, as in the case of the Turks, ethnological fact seems to contradict the putative origin.

The symbolic geography of Scythia fashioned by Renaissance period writers draws on a tradition that extends back to the foundational work of the canon of Western ethnology, the *Histories* of Herodotus.[34] In investigating Herodotus's account of the Scythians in Book IV, François Hartog has proposed a dual methodology that also serves as a model for critics of later ethnography. On the one hand, Hartog sets out to achieve a formalist reading of the ethnographic texts by 'treat[ing] the noun *Scythians* as a simple signifier and track[ing] the range of this signifier within the space of the narrative, noting all the predicates that collect around it so as eventually to construct an image'.[35] At the same time however, Hartog is attentive to the 'absent model', (p. 8), the way the ethnographic material in the *Histories* is shaped in response to unstated questions prompted by the defining characteristics of his own, Greek, culture.[36]

Herodotus pairs Scythia and Egypt as diametrical opposites, with the Nile and Ister respectively serving to demarcate the *eschatia*, or 'limit-zones'.[37] The geographical imaginary is one that assumes a strict patterning behind the distribution of spaces and the peoples that inhabit them: Egypt signifies heat, fertility, age and wisdom, while Scythia is characterised by cold, barrenness, youth and folly. As symbolic spaces, Scythia and Egypt are thus fashioned using strategies of 'symmetry' and 'exclusion'; they are at once 'opposite' one another, and 'beyond' Greece, which is identified as the moderate and benign centre.[38]

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[34] Lost in the middle ages, Herodotus was available to Renaissance scholars in a Latin edition of 1474, see Hodgen, p. 28. The first in English was that of Barnabe Rich, published as *The Famous Hystory of Herodotus* in 1574. Herodotus is frequently cited as an ethnological source in works in English: See, for example, Sandys, L2 v; George Abbot, *A Briefe Description of the Whole Worlde* (1599), C3 v; T. Washington, trans., *The Navigations, Peregrinations and Voyages, made into Turkie*, [by Nicholas Nicholay] (1585), O4 r.

[35] François Hartog, *The Mirror of Herodotus: The Representation of the Other in the Writing of History* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1988), p. 8. Subsequent references are in the text.

[36] Hartog's account here is close to what Clarence J. Glacken's 'antiphonal themes', *Traces on the Rhodian Shore: Nature and Culture in Western Thought from Ancient Times to the End of the Eighteenth Century* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1967), p. 81, noted in the Introduction, above.

[37] Hartog, p. 12, Gillies, pp. 7-9.

[38] Gillies, p. 8. This binary opposition of Egypt and Scythia is explored at length in the pseudo-Hippocratic 'Airs, Waters, Places', *Hippocrates with and English Translation by W. H. S. Jones* (Cambridge, MA: LOEB, 1962).

Scythia serves as a 'mirror' for Greece by throwing its defining features – lawfulness, agriculture, city-dwelling - into sharp relief. The consciousness of an absolute and irreducible difference between the Greeks and the Scythians centred on mobility versus settlement underlies the entire ethnographic programme of his fourth book:

> How did such a people as the Greeks, who were forever declaring that city life was the only life worth living, imagine this figure of the Scythian, the essence of whose life was to constantly on the move?[39]

Among the various attributes which point up the dichotomy, it is the wandering of the Scythian that makes him a master-sign of the other for Herodotus. For Renaissance period writers too, nomadism is a central marker of cultural alterity, with the nomad representing a polyvalent embodiment of what is inimical to civility.[40]

The enquiry into what Scythia means as a symbolic space of origin for the Turks may be clarified by reference to a parallel ethnographic discussion, that of the Scythian origin of the Irish in Spenser's *A View of the Present State of Ireland.*[41] The polemic purpose of *A View* differs from that of texts about the Turks in that, where those texts are relatively disinterested, Spenser's is tied to a practical programme for the reform of Irish manners, law and education aimed at facilitating the process of colonisation by the English administration. Like writers about the Turks however, Spenser makes the deduction of lineal descent central to his ethnology. Enquiring into the custom of 'tanistry' for example, a non-primogenitural inheritance practice, it is the origin of the custom that chiefly exercises Eudoxus:

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[39] Hartog, p. 11.

[40] Mark Thornton Burnett, 'Tamburlaine: An Elizabethan Vagabond', *SP*, 94 (1987), 308-23, has noted the importance of vagrancy, in the Elizabethan *Book of Homilies*, and in texts about the Gypsies and the Irish as well as in *Tamburlaine*; James Boon, *Other Tribes, Other Scribes: Symbolic Anthropology in the Comparative Study of Cultures, Histories, Religions and Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), Chapter Five, bases his reading of selections from Purchas on the contrast between nomadic American indigenes and the centralising ambitions of the English Crown.

[41] Edmund Spenser, *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, ed. by W. L. Renwick (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970). The text was written probably before 1598, but published only in the 1630s. Subsequent references are in the text. Interestingly, Sidney pairs the Turks and Irish as nations neglectful of learning: 'In Turkey, besides their law-giving divines, they no other writers but poets. In our neighbour country, Ireland, where truly learning goeth very bare, yet are their poets held in a devout reverence', 'The Defence of Poesy', Philip Sidney, *Selected Writings*, ed. by Richard Dutton (Manchester: Carcanet, 1987), p. 104.

> Have you ever heard what was the occasion and first beginnings of this custom, for it is good to know the same, and may perhaps discover some secret meaning and intent therein very material to the state of the government. (p. 8)

At the same time, in a strategy analogous to that seen in writings about the Turks, he argues that the barbarism of the Scythians – known *a priori* from ancient authorities – is confirmed by their descendants' retention of their customs. The relationship between ethnography and origin in Spenser's *View* is an entirely closed system, as Andrew Hadfield has observed:

> It is the Scythians who really define the Irish. Irenius passes from the discussion of origins to the promised analysis of customs (as the two are ultimately interdependent, the textual logic can be seen to be circular).[42]

In keeping with the primacy of the origin, the Irish cultural practices Spenser sees as most inimical to civility are revealed as the ones that bear the strongest trace of a Scythian ancestry: 'Tanistry', for example, is traced to an 'original' in *Tania*, the inferred name of a province of Scythia (p. 8), and Scythian parallels are likewise found for all the major forms of Irish barbarism, oath-swearing, their traditional 'intemperate wailings of the dead' (p. 56), and the 'glib' or 'mantle', of which Irenius notes that 'the outlaw maketh his mantle his home' (p. 51).

This latter detail was central to Spenser's argument, evidence that, as Ann Jones and Peter Stallybrass have argued, 'the Irish, like the Scythians, were nomads and therefore had no claim to have settled the land'.[43] Dis-mantling the Irish thus serves as a metaphor for a far-reaching civilizing mission which, as Deborah Shuger suggests, centres on the rejection of pastoralism: 'Like the ancients', she writes, 'Tudor/Stuart Irish tracts equate barbarism with a grazing economy predicated on endemic tribal violence'.[44] The chief hope for Ireland is thus seen to lie in a programme based on the recognition that civil peace and economic prosperity can only be achieved through a transition, forcible if necessary, from a grazing economy to one based on tillage: As

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[42] Andrew Hadfield, 'Briton and Scythian: Tudor Representations of Irish Origins', *Irish Historical Studies*, 28 (1993), 390-408, p. 401.
[43] Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass, 'Dis-mantling Irena: The Sexualising of Ireland in Early Modern England', in Andrew Parker, Mary Russo, Doris Sommer, and Patricia Yaeger, eds., *Nationalisms and Sexualities* (New York: Routledge, 1992), pp. 157-71.
[44] Deborah Shuger, 'Irishmen, Aristocrats, and Other White Barbarians', *RQ*, 50 (1997), 494-525, p. 501.

Spenser himself expresses it, 'husbandrye the Nurse of thrifte and daughter of Industrie [...] is most enemye to warr'.[45]

A crucial element in Spenser's proof of the Scythianness of the Irish, and hence of the need to sweep away their customs, is their ethnological likeness to other nations which share the same descent. Spenser notes for example that the pasturage system of the ancient Scythians, seen in the Irish use of 'Bollies', is still in use 'amongst all the Tartarians and the people about the Caspian Sea which are naturally Scythians' (p. 49); again in a similar passage, Irenius notes of pastoralism in general, 'you shall find that they are both very barbarous and uncivil and also greatly given to war, the Tartarians, the Muscovites, the Norways, the Goths, [and] the Armenians' (p. 158). The concern with the Scythian *diaspora* is highly germane to the following chapter, which considers the parallel evolution of the Turks and Tartars. It is interesting to note that Spenser includes the Tartars in his lists of Scythian-like and Scythian-descended nations of herdsmen, but not the Turks. Scythianness works in relation to the Irish primarily because as described by Spenser they are (still) pastoralists and lawless. Evidently, the fact that nomadism is not, or is no longer, an attribute of the Turks, makes them a less ready image of Scythian barbarity.

It is instructive to compare Georgiewitz's ethnological proof of the Scythianness of the Turks – their 'maners, face, countenances, pryde, rashenes, [and] wonderful audacity' with Spenser's parallel argument about the Irish. Geogiewitz is forced to omit the attribute of Scythianness which, for Spenser, is the master-sign: nomadism.[46] On the other hand, Spenser, whose central concern is to prove that the Scythians are nomads, omits the Turks from his account of the Scythian *diaspora*. The idea of the Turks as Scythians is in fact undermined by their manifest fixity, at least after 1453, a fixity that is the result of a westwards migration that cannot but suggest a progress towards civility, for, as Certeau has remarked, 'nomadism is not an attribute of the Scythian [...] it is their definition. What is foreign is that which escapes from a place'.[47]

As we have seen, Turkish aspirations to world dominance included the idea of the Ottoman Empire as a new Rome. As perceived by Western writers too, the advance of the Turks from obscure origins in the Caucasus to settled government implies an

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[45] Cited by Shuger, p. 509.
[46] Goughe, B1r.
[47] Certeau, p.70.

oriental version of the *translatio imperii* which, like its original, presents a transfer of power from people to people – Saracens, Scythians, Tartars and Turks, and a migration culminating in the foundation of an empire in the west.[48] Western Christian writers' attempts to define or limit the Turks geo-culturally using the myth of Scythia dissolve in paradox as the Turks' present exercise of power demonstrably exceeds the Scythian origin. The sign 'Scythian' thus operates only in a very weakened form in relation to the Turks, as a metaphor for the restless progress of their territorial ambitions, the unpredictability of their appearance across the territories they covet. The original referents of Scythianness – nomadism, undisciplined rapacity, absence of centralised rule – are all obliterated in the symbolic movement westwards.

[48] See James, Chapter One, 'The Legacy of Fame: Authority and Ambiguity in the Troy Legend'.

Chapter Three

Turkish *Tamburlaine*

The Epistle printed with the first edition of *1 Tamburlaine* is a unique document, in that it affords evidence of the censorship of an early modern play on aesthetic rather than political grounds, namely the omission of 'some fond and frivolous gestures, digressing (and in my poore opinion) far unmeet for the matter'.[1] The impression that *Tamburlaine* as originally performed was in important senses different in tone from the play we know is reinforced by the entry in the Stationers' Register, which refers to 'The twooe comicall discourses of Tomberlein the Cithian shapparde'.[2] We may perhaps conclude that *Tamburlaine* as first acted was, like Thomas Preston's *Cambyses*, a 'Lamentable Tragedy, Mixed Full of Pleasant Mirth', squarely in the transitional space between the vernacular morality tradition and the neo-classical history play, primarily concerned with issues of state-craft, which was to dominate in the next generation.[3].

It is with *Tamburlaine* as a drama 'acceptable [...] to read after [...] serious affaires and studies' that I am concerned in this chapter.[4] The essence of this seriousness, I will argue, lies chiefly in Marlowe's presentation of oriental history, which is both literate in terms of traditions about the Turks, and innovative in the way it addresses the problem of origins discussed in Chapter Two, above.[5] Where Elizabethan tyrant plays more clearly in the hybrid morality-neo-classical vein, such as *Cambyses*, *Selimus* and *Soliman and Perseda*, treat their oriental rulers largely as stock figures, Marlowe

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[1] Christopher Marlowe, 'Tamburlaine Parts One and Two', ed. by David Fuller, Vol. 5 in *The Complete Works of Christopher Marlowe*, ed. by Roma Gill (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987-), 5 vols., 'To the Gentlemen Readers', l. Subsequent references to the plays in the main text are to this edition unless otherwise indicated, and are in the text. References to this edition in the footnotes are cited as 'Fuller'.

[2] Fuller, Introduction, l.

[3] David Bevington, *From Mankind to Marlowe: Growth and Structure in the Popular Drama of Tudor England* (Cambridge, MA, 1962), p. 161. Rebecca W. Bushnell, *Tragedies of Tyrants: Political Thought and Theatre in the English Renaissance* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990), p. 83. has argued that the two forms have a 'common language', making the synthesis represented by plays like Marlowe's in many ways a natural one.

[4] 'To the Gentlemen Readers', l. 5.

[5] Irving Ribner, 'The Idea of History in Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*', *ELH*, 20 (1953), 251-66, p. 251 ff., approaches *Tamburlaine* as 'the first great Elizabethan history play'; his discussion is however restricted to classical models, and does not address Marlowe's engagement with early modern oriental history writing.

presents a complex historical meditation centred on the theme of the transition of oriental dynasties from nomadism to settled rule.[6]

Tamburlaine provided a complex figure for historical analysis, inviting at once revulsion at the lawless deeds of a bloody tyrant, and admiration for a successful opponent of the Turks. Jovius, one of Marlowe's probable sources, certainly interprets the story of Timur positively, in the light of his role in causing Beyazit I to raise his siege of Constantinople in 1402:

> Maye we not be glad to hear tell how Tamberlayn toke the great Turke Bajazet prisoner and al his lyfe after used him like a vyle drudge?[7]

This interpretation of Timur's career resonates with references in the plays to Tamburlaine freeing Christian slaves held by the Turks (1.3.3.44-50) and to his concern for the Georgian Christians caught up in the siege of Babylon (2.5.1.29-33).[8] Jovius's view is not an idiosyncratic one. As Fuller states, 'that Tamburlaine had in effect saved Europe from Ottoman domination [in 1402] was a well-informed contemporary view'.[9]

An important counter-view is however suggested by one of the earliest critical comments on *Tamburlaine*, the third satire of Joseph Hall's *Virgidemiarum* (1597), which depicts an imaginary conclave of poets debating the current state of tragedy:

> One higher pitch'd doth set his soaring thought
> On crowned kings that Fortune hath low brought:
> Or some upreared, high-aspiring swaine
> As it might be the Turkish Tamberlaine.[10]

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[6] *Selimus* is reprinted in Daniel J. Vitkus, ed., *Three Turk Plays from Early Modern England* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000). *Solyman and Perseda* is printed in *The Works of Thomas Kyd* ed. by Frederick S. Boas (Oxford: Clarendon, 1901). On the relationship between *Selimus* and the early canon of oriental history plays in English, see Peter Berek, 'Tamburlaine's Weak Sons: Imitation as Interpretation before 1593', *Renaissance Drama*, n.s. 13 (1982), 55-82.

[7] Peter Ashton, *A Shorte Treatise upon the Turkes Chronicles, compyled by Paulus Jovius byshop of Nucerne* (1546), Epistle. Fuller, Introduction, xxii, notes that Perondinus, another of Marlowe's probable sources, also emphasises Tamburlaine's role in 'the saving of Eastern Christendom from Islam'.

[8] Roslyn Knutson, 'Elizabethan Documents, Captivity Narrative, and the Market for Foreign History Plays', *ELR*, 26 (1996), 75-110, p. 80, relates the vogue for oriental history plays around 1590 to contemporary charity collections on behalf of Christians enslaved by the Turks in the Mediterranean.

[9] Fuller, Introduction, xxxi.

[10] Richard Levin, 'The Contemporary Perception of Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*', *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England, An Annual Gathering of Research, Criticism and Reviews*, 1 (1984), 51-70, p. 53.

In suggesting that Timur's career reveals something about the nature of Turkish power, Hall highlights an important and neglected aspect of Marlowe's historical conception. The reading which the idea of a 'Turkish Tamburlaine' prompts may serve to address two features of the drama that critics have seen as problematic, namely the curious effect of doubling characteristic of Marlowe's presentation of Tamburlaine and Bajazeth, and the prevalence of 'anachronistic' detail suggestive of sixteenth century conflicts between Europeans and the Ottomans.[11] Marlowe has presented his Turkish and Tartar rulers as conforming to the same type, suggesting that they are seeking the same historical end, 'The sweet fruition of an earthly crowne' (1.2.7.29), that lies beyond the time-scale of the plays' action. As he augments his power, Tamburlaine is vying, not so much with Bajazeth, as with the whole line of the Turks, down to the present of the first audiences and readers of the plays. He fails of his ambitions, as cross-time references constantly remind us, because of his progeny, just as Knolles notes in his life of Bajazet that the Turkish ruler was unfortunate in his own choleric disposition, but blessed in his issue.[12] Tamburlaine's failure, and the success of the Turks, lies ultimately in Tamburlaine's lack of 'fruition', his inability to found a line.

In Chapter Two, we noted that a crucial strategy for Spenser's enquiry into Scythianness in the *View of the Present State of Ireland* was the comparison of different peoples sharing the same genesis. Employing nomadism as a clear distinguishing mark of nations whose present state betrayed their Scythian origin, Spenser omitted the Turks from consideration, presumably because they were no longer nomadic. In *Tamburlaine*, Marlowe looks at the same process as it were in reverse, taking as read the eventual success of the Turks in establishing settled and effective rule, and contrasting with it the failure of the Tartars, who after an early history essentially similar to that of the Turks, had passed into obscurity. Underlying Marlowe's dramatisation of the impressive but ultimately futile career of Tamburlaine is an understanding, derived from a literature primarily focussed on the problem of Turkish power, that sees the Turks and Tartars as kindred peoples set on a shared historical trajectory. The subtlety of his undertaking emerges in the way he analyses the mass of materials at his disposal to suggest a cause

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[11] On the doubling of Tamburlaine and Bajazeth, see Judith Weil, *Christopher Marlowe: Merlin's Prophet* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1977), p. 14; Emily C. Bartels, *Spectacles of Strangeness: Imperialism, Alienation and Marlowe* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), pp. 64 ff.

[12] Richard Knolles, *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* (1603), U6 v.

for the ultimate collapse of Tartar power, not only in the failure to produce an effective settlement of the succession, but in the inability to complete the transition from primitive nomadism by settling physically.[13]

Marlowe's habitual use of 'Scythian' and 'Tartar' as interchangeable epithets to describe Tamburlaine reflects a general fluidity of usage in early modern writing that crucially involves the Turks. Like Marlowe, George Abbot presents Tartaria and Scythia as one and the same place, and stresses the aboriginal character of the Tartars by noting that 'they have few or no cities amongst them, but after the manner of the olde Scythians, doe live in wildernesses'.[14] He places them at the bottom of the scale of civility, considering the despised Cathaians, for example, 'not much learned, but more civill then the Tartars' (B2 r). Edward Brerewood, on the other hand, addressing the origins of languages and religions rather than of peoples, suggests the backward nature of the Turks by arguing that Ottoman Turkish is 'originally none other than the Tartarian tongue'.[15]

Where Brerewood's use of 'originally' implies some concession to the development of the Turks, Robert Carr asserts that the Turks are Tartars and no more, asserting that they have merely borrowed the name of Turks, an ancient people mentioned by Pliny:

> The Turks [...] were driven [from Asia] by the Tartaries, beeing Scithians orientall, who have taken upon them also the name of Turks though they be none in deed, and this present reigning under the name of the Turks, who of very truth are but Tartaries and Scithian by their discent.[16]

Whatever their original identity, Carr traces the progress of these Tartarian Turks as a migration away from Scythia:

> [The Turks] being bare breach Tartars only, runne out of the caves of those horrid countryes of the Risean and Caucasus

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[13] Tamburlaine's apostrophes to Samarcanda towards the end of *2 Tamburlaine*, the first to associate him with a fixed and urban dwelling, represent a desire for settlement that remains unfulfilled at the end of the play. Crucially, Samarcanda is associated not with permanence and stability, but with the threat to dynastic continuity represented by the murder of Calyphas, see 2.4.1.107-13.

[14] George Abbot, *A Briefe Description of the Whole Worlde* (1599), A8 v, B1 v. Subsequent references are in the text.

[15] Edward Brerewood, *Enquiries touching the Diversity of Languages and Religions through the Chiefe Parts of the World* (1622), I2 v. The anonymous editor of an early seventeenth century collection of letters purportedly from Mehmet II, notes that the sultan wrote them, 'partly in the Syrian and Greek tongue, and partly in the Scythian or Slavonian', *The Turkes Secretorie* (1607), B3 r.

[16] R[alph] Carr, *The Mahumetane or Turkish Historie* (1600), Dedication to Robert Carr, I 1r.

> mountaines, yet have with glorious successe in their attemptes ledde captivitie captive, made themselves now conquerors over the whole East; and in fine are become even the Terror of the West.[17]

As I suggested in Chapter Two, physical movement by the Scythian peoples away from the Caucasus raises a question as to whether migration may also entail transcendence of the limiting nomadic origin. I will argue in this chapter that Marlowe's depiction of the Turks in *Tamburlaine* implies that it may.

Lurking within Carr's account of the 'running out' of the Turks/Tartars from their original confines is the idea that, though the Turks and Tartars are indistinguishable racially, they have diverged culturally, in that the Turks have advanced towards civility, while the Tartars have failed to. Giles Fletcher, in his 'Embassage, Description of Russia' (1588), implies just this, noting that the Tartars fight on horseback, using 'a falcon sword after the Turkish fashion' and are 'of the Turkish religion'.[18] Like Spenser however, he is carefully restrictive in his account of the modern evidences of Scythianness, for the Tartars, like the Scythians, but unlike the modern Turks, are nomads (p. 396), and use no money: 'it seemeth they have ever, or so long time bene of that minde to value things no further, then by the use and necessitie for which they serve' (p. 398).[19] Behind accounts such as Fletcher's lies a recognition that the Tartars have retained the manners of the Scythians, while the Turks have evolved urban culture, justice, a civil administration and a sophisticated military machine.

The exact nature of Marlowe's conception of a 'Turkish *Tamburlaine*' within the diverse and fluid early modern usage of Turk, Tartar and Scythian may be illuminated by considering his sources, which have confronted scholars with considerable problems. The first of these is the sheer number of possible sources. Vivien Thomas and William Tydeman print extracts of fourteen prior works, while Una Ellis Fermor's edition of the plays suggests that the list could plausibly be extended to more than forty.[20] The list, even at Thomas and Tydeman's conservative estimate

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[17] Carr, A4 r

[18] Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, Glasgow, 1903-4), 12 vols., Vol. 3, pp. 389, 394. Subsequent references are in the text.

[19] For a more detailed account of the relationship between the Turks and the Tartars, see Boemus, E. Aston's translation of Boemus, *The Maners, Laws and Customs of All Nations* (1610), Chs. 9-11.

[20] Vivien Thomas and William Tydeman, *Christopher Marlowe: The Plays and their Sources* (London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 69 ff.; *Tamburlaine the Great* ed. by U. M. Ellis-Fermor (New York: Gordian Press, 1966), Introduction, p. 34, hereafter cited in the footnotes as 'Ellis-Fermor'.

stands in surprising contrast to other plays of Marlowe which exhibit a limited dependence on prior works, suggesting in the case of *Tamburlaine*, as Hugh Dick has remarked, 'a concentration of reading more like that of a professional historian than a young poet'.[21] In addition to the sheer number of possible sources, there is the surprising fact that *Tamburlaine* exhibits almost no specific verbal debts, which leads Ellis-Fermor to conclude that, despite such a large array of possibilities, 'there are very few [sources] of which we are prepared to say with certainty "Marlowe had read this"'.[22] The result is a very long list of possible sources, with a great deal of material duplicated between them, and no way of knowing why, or indeed how, Marlowe went to the great labour of reading such a bulk of materials. Even if we were to accept Ellis-Fermor's suggestion that Marlowe simply sifted books for relevant passages, he would still have needed some sort of guide through this vast literature.[23]

The problem of the sources of *Tamburlaine* would be obviated if it could be demonstrated that Marlowe relied on a mentor able to acquaint him with a wide range of sources at second hand. Hugh Dick suggests that Marlowe had just such a mentor in Richard Knolles, arguing that the relationship between *Tamburlaine* and Knolles's *Generall Historie of the Turkes* (1603) provides a key to the source problem. At the same time, Dick's theory of a relationship between the two works also suggests an interpretative framework for *Tamburlaine* that illuminates Marlowe's central concern with the relationship of the Turks and Tartars to their 'originall', particularly as regards the powerful resonance between *Tamburlaine* and Knolles's account of the rise of Ottoman, a directly analogous figure.

Dick sets out very detailed evidence for a literary relationship between Marlowe and Knolles, who may have been acquainted through Knolles's patron, Sir Peter Manwood, a significant figure in Kentish literary circles.[24] He owned manors at Sandwich, where he employed Knolles as master of the school which he had founded, and at Hackington, on the outskirts of Marlowe's native Canterbury. Manwood's library

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[21] Hugh G. Dick, '*Tamburlaine* sources once more', *SP*, 46 (1949), 154-166, p.156. Thomas and Tydeman, p. 4, describe *The Jew of Malta* as 'almost an exercise in doing without sources'. *Dr. Faustus* is drawn almost entirely from a single source, P.F.'s translation of the German *Faustbuch.*

[22] Ellis-Fermor, p. 34.

[23] Commenting on the inconsistencies in what she takes to be Marlowe's debt to the Greek chronicler Chalcocondylas, Ellis-Fermor, Introduction, p. 37, suggests that 'Marlowe may well, as an editor is unhappily not permitted to do, have thrown the book aside after a few pages of the third part and turned to more succinct and graphic scenes'.

[24] The following paragraphs follow Dick's argument closely.

at Sandwich was used by historians of the Camden circle, and presumably housed many of the rare European works on the history of the Turks that provided Knolles with his primary material.[25] Strong circumstantial evidence renders likely a relationship between Marlowe and Manwood, who was connected to Marlowe's patron Thomas Walsingham by marriage, and was also close to Archbishop Matthew Parker, who paid for Marlowe's education at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. While there, Marlowe would have been acquainted with another Parker scholar, Roger Boyle, who subsequently entered Sir Roger's service. Marlowe certainly met Manwood once, when he came before the bench on a murder charge for the Hog Lane killing, and received a lenient sentence from Manwood, a fact that is perhaps tactfully alluded to in Marlowe's Latin epitaph on his former judge, who died in 1592.[26]

The scholarly neglect of the link between Marlowe and Knolles, and its significance in relation to *Tamburlaine*, are perhaps to be explained by the oversights of Sir Sidney Lee's *DNB* entry for Manwood.[27] Lee states, incorrectly, that it was not Sir Peter Manwood, but his father, Sir Roger, who patronised Knolles. Ignoring information contained in the preliminaries of both *The Generall Historie* and of Knolles's translation of Bodin, Lee also claims, on the basis of a patently false assertion about Knolles's sources, that *The Generall Historie* was completed in the remarkably short period of ten years.[28] Lee's ten-year gestation of course rules out the *Generall Historie* as a source for Marlowe's plays, suggesting that Knolles began his researches about 1593, three years after the first printing of *1 Tamburlaine*, and probably six years after the first performances.

Dick interprets Knolles's own comments on his working methods to imply that work towards *The Generall Historie* may have begun as early as 1572. Knolles proceeded by a painstaking process of gathering all the sources he could, in Latin, Italian, and German, condensing them into summaries, and only at a late stage selecting

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[25] See Knolles's account of his sources, A6 r-v. In the same passage, he refers to depositing his manuscripts with Manwood during a long break in the composition of the *Generall Historie*.
[26] Christopher Marlowe, *The Complete Poems and Translations*, ed. by Stephen Orgel (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971), p. 217. William Urry, *Christopher Marlowe and Canterbury* (London: Faber and Faber, 1988), p. 64, describes Manwood as a 'benefactor' of Marlowe. For further information about the Hog Lane killing, see Urry, *n* 7, pp. 167-8.
[27] Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee, eds., *Dictionary of National Biography* (1908-9), 22 Vols., Vol. 12, p. 991.
[28] Lee, cited in Dick, p. 163. Lee claims that Knolles's work was mostly derived from a single source, Boissard's *Vitae et Icones Sultanorum* (1596). Boissard was in fact the source of the engravings in the *Generall Historie*.

which source to follow for each portion of the narrative. This process would have resulted in a range of materials answering exactly to the confusing source-relationships of *Tamburlaine*. If we accept Dick's suggestion that, 'to the best of his knowledge Knolles was using all the sources all the time' (p. 163), we can see how it might well have taken thirty years to complete a work that weighs in at over a million words, and whose every page is the extracted essence of meticulous summaries covering an impressive range of sources in five languages.

Knolles conceives his project at as a 'whole continuat Historie of that Northerne and warlike Nation [the Turks]', tracing how from being 'an obscure and base people' they have aspired to become 'the greatest terror of the world'.[29] Central to his account of the rise of the Turks is his notion of the orient as the arena of the rise and fall of empires:

> The Turks [...] by their valour first aspired, unto the kingdome of Persia, with divers other large provinces: from whence they were about an hundred threescore and ten years after againe expulsed by the Tartars [...] where [...] they in some good measure repaired their former losses againe, and maintained the state of a kingdome at Iconium in Cilicia [...] holding in their subjection the greater part of that fruitful countrey, still seeking to gaine from the Christians what they had before lost unto the Tartars. (A3 r-v)

Knolles's overview of the vast canvas on which he is to present his history anticipates Marlowe's drama by depicting the contest for sway in the Mediterranean and Near East as principally between three powers, with the two rising nations, the Turks and Tartars, seeking to divide up the spoils of a collapsing Persian empire. This is precisely the scenario at the opening of *1 Tamburlaine*. During the course of the plays, Tamburlaine aspires to seize the territories, first of the Persians, and then of the Ottomans. The completeness of his success is clearly shown at 2.4.1.77, where the four captive Turkish kings of Natolia, Jerusalem, Trebizon and Soria are led in triumph, a spectacle that forms a strong contrast with earlier spectacles showing the Turks' command of tributary rulers.[30] The names would have been known to early audiences as regions now

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[29] Knolles, Dedication to King James, A3 r.; 'Author's Induction', A4 r, v. The Scythian origin of the Turks is explained in more detail at B1 v. Subsequent references to Knolles are in the text.
[30] See, for example, 1.3.1 ff.

ruled by the Turks, inevitably raising a question as to how Tamburlaine's descendants had lost the ascendancy he establishes during the plays.

The Turks' bursting out of Scythia and accession to organised power is mediated biographically in accounts of the foundation of their empire. Originally, as Jovius notes:

> [The Turks] never had any one heade or cheyfe ruler amongst theym, but devided theym selves into several companies of horsmen [...] and so lyke tyrauntes possessed that large and ample regyon mooste cruelly. (A1 v)

The transformation of Turkish power occurs only with the emergence of a 'cheyfe ruler', Ottoman:

> Aboute the yeare of our lorde 1300 a certen man, Ottoman by name, the sunne of Zichus (whiche was a very pore man) begain to waxe myghtye and strong bothe in name, power, and dignitye among the Turkes. And this Ottoman was the first after whom the house and stocke of the turkysh Emperours. (A2 v)[31]

The stress on the obscurity of Ottoman's parentage serves only to emphasise the startling quality of his rise, and he is credited with instigating monarchic rule, introducing law, laying the territorial foundations of the empire by seizing Anatolia, and replacing nomadism with settlement.[32]

The parallel between Knolles's account of Ottoman and Marlowe's of Tamburlaine is striking. The *Generall Historie* describes how Ottoman's father Ertogrul, with the aid of a band of 'homely heardsmen' establishes himself as 'pettie lord of a countrie village'. In so doing, he lays foundations which will be built on by his son, who is described as 'a wise, politicke, vigillant, stirring, and valiant man', and praised for his 'aspiring mind'.[33] At the centre of Knolles's account of Ottoman is an occasion

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[31] Carr, I2 v, follows Jovius at this point;
[32] George Whetstone, *The English Myrror: A regard wherein al estates may behold the Conquests of Envy* (1586), E3 r. These developments are departures from the culture of the Scythians as maintained among the Tartars of the writers' own day. The Mercator-Hondius-Jansson *Atlas* notes straightforwardly that '[The Turks'] first chiefetaine was Othoman a Tartar', Gerard Mercator, Hendrik Hondius and Jan Jansson, *Mercator-Hondius-Jansson Atlas: Or, a Geographicke Description of the World*, with an Introduction by R. A. Skelton (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1968), Y1 r.
[33] Knolles, N3 r, N4 r.

fraught with a sense of the Turks' projected ascent, a sort of impromptu coronation of Ottoman as first King of the Turks:

> Yet was this his honour included in a small circuit, plaine and homely, without any great pompe or shew, as commaunding amongst rough and rude heardsmen and shepheards, not aquainted with the courtesies of other more civile nations: for as yet they were the same homely Scythian nomades that they were before, and could not as yet be persuaded to forsake thir woonted rude and uncivile manners, by long tradition received from their auncestors, and so best agreeing with their nature and calling. (N3r)

Emphasising, as he does throughout his Life of Ottoman, the movement of the Turks away from nomadism and towards settlement, Knolles renders this scene as proleptic in relation to future history. The Turks are from this point destined to achieve a success to which the establishment of settled rule will be fundamental. Like Curio in the Preface to the *Notable Historie of the Saracens*, discussed in Chapter Two, above, Knolles repeatedly stresses the likeness between Othoman and Romulus.[34]

Knolles's account of the 'coronation' of Ottoman constitutes a strong emblem of the development of the Turks from nomadic pastoralism to effective military organisation, and as such anticipates Marlowe's dramatisation of the parallel transformation of the Tartars in *Tamburlaine* (1.1.2.41). Apprehended by Knolles and Marlowe respectively at the pivotal moment in their progress as a people, Ottoman's 'rude heardsmen', and the 'silly country Swaines' who attend Tamburlaine (1.1.2.47) embody a movement that is chiefly significant, not as subjective history, but as short-hand for the progress of an entire empire and dynasty.

The *mise-en-scène* at the opening of *1 Tamburlaine* associates Persia with age and antiquity, and the Turks and Tartars with youth, recalling Hartog's question about Herodotus's theory of the ages of empire, cited in Chapter Two: 'Is there a connection

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[34] Knolles, 'Author's Induction', A4 v, M6 v, N3 r; Tamburlaine is likened to both Ottoman and Romulus at T4 v. For Marlowe's playful rendering of Tamburlaine as an upstart, see 2.3.1.47-5, where the jailer Almeda responds to Callapine's offer of a crown as a reward for his release by remarking, 'That's no matter sir, for being a king, for Tamburlain came up of nothing'. Cf. Newton's comments on Romulus, who, 'of a poore and beggarly shepherd, was advanced to the degree of a king', *A Shorte Treatise upon the Turkes Chronicles, compyled by Paulus Jovius byshop of Nucerne* (1546), B2 v, cited in Chapter Two, above.

to be made between nomadism and the youth of a nation?'[35] The tone of the Persian rulers in 1.1.1 is marked by a sense of nostalgia for ancient glories, and present frailty:

> Unhappie Persea, that in former age
> Hast bene the seat of mightie Conquerors [...]
> Now to be rulde and governed by a man,
> At whose byrth-day Cynthia and Saturne joinde
> (1.1.1 6-7, 13-14).[36]

Mycetes's own language suggests decrepitude, with the commendation of Theridamas as one on whom 'Our state doth lean, as on a staffe,/That holds us up' (ll. 60-61) culminating in the acknowledgement that 'Our life is fraile' (l. 68).[37]

In accepting a usurper's crown, Cosroe attempts to revive the fortunes of a Persia that he sees 'droope, / And languish in [his] brother's government' (ll. 155-6), but subsequent developments suggest that the Persian royal line is in fact exhausted.[38] The childless Mycetes will be succeeded by a brother whom he has denounced as 'Monster of Nature, shame unto thy stocke' (l. 104). In a later scene, Cosroe, mortally wounded in his struggle with Tamburlaine, greets his oncoming death in terms that recall that language of old age associated with Mycetes, 'My bloodlesse body waxeth chill and colde' (1.1.2.42). Cosroe's death, which represents the extinction of old power in the face of new threats, clearly interrogates questions of succession, which the plays will also explore at length in relation to the Turks and Tartars.[39]

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[35] François Hartog, *The Mirror of Herodotus: The Representation of the Other in the Writing of History* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1988), p. 28. Herodotus's theory is amplified in the pseudo-Hippocratic 'Airs, Waters, Places', Chs. 12-21, which defines three ages of empires in terms of climate, with cold, northern races such as the Scythians representing youth, the temperate Europeans maturity, hot, southern races such as the Egyptians, old age, see *Hippocrates with an English Translation*, trans. by W. H. S. Jones (Cambridge, MA: Loeb, 1962). For a Renaissance discussion of this theme, see the remarks on Bodin's environmental theory, see Clarence J Glacken, *Traces on the Rhodian Shore: Nature and Culture in Western Thought from Ancient Times to the End of the Eighteenth Century* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1967), p. 441.

[36] The association of Persia with Saturn is picked up by Tamburlaine after he defeats Cosroe, see 1.2.7.13-17, and by Usumcasane later in the same scene, l. 36.

[37] In an elaboration of the image of Persia as vulnerable and lacking in vigour, Mycetes likens himself to a goose liable to have his feathers torn by the fox-like Tartar, ll. 29-33.

[38] Cosroe's invocation of as a conqueror at 1.1.1.130 proves more apt than he intends, for, as Fuller's note, p. 171, points out, the Persians actually failed in their attempts upon Asia. The reference perhaps suggests that Cosroe's failure is bound up with a tendency to focus on the past rather than the challenges of the future.

[39] At 1.2.4.8-9, the cowardly Mycetes declares that, 'Kings are clouts that every man shoots at,/Our crowns the pin that thousands seek to cleave'. The association of the Turks and Tartars with 'Every man' perhaps suggests Mycetes's scorn for the base-born opponents with no claim to an ancient ancestry.

Meander describes Tamburlaine in the opening scene of *1 Tamburlaine* in terms that play on an association between military prowess and the youthful vigour of a people whose star is in the ascendant:

> Oft have I heard your Majestie complain,
> Of Tamburlaine, that sturdie Scythian thiefe,
> That robs your merchants of Perseplois,
> Trading by land unto the Westerne Isles,
> And in your confines with his lawlesse traine,
> Daily commits incivill outrages,
> Hoping (misled by dreaming prophesies)
> To raigne in Asia, and with barbarous Armes,
> To make himselfe the Monarch of the East:
> But ere he march in Asia, or display
> His vagrant ensigne in the Persean fields,
> Your Grace hath taken order by Theridamas,
> Charg'd with a thousand horse, to apprehend
> And bring him Captive to your highness throne. (ll.35-48)

The main elements of Meander's description – physical strength, thievery, incivility, lawlessness and disregard of established 'confines' – show that Marlowe is here evoking the standard image of the Scythians presented in history writing. The 'vagrant ensigne' represents what from the settled perspective of Persia is a comforting oxymoron: the Persian generals assume that pastoralism precludes any capacity for ordered military proceeding. As with narratives of the early history of the Turks however, assumptions about the incapacity of the Scythians to aspire to settled power are to prove ill-founded, at least in the short term. The play takes up the action at precisely the point at which the Tartars break out of Scythia both physically and figuratively, just as the Ottomans had in the standard accounts.

The significance of the Turks in relation to the ages of empire is hinted at in Cosroe's initial warning to Mycetes: 'Now Turks and Tartars shake their swords at thee,/Meaning to mangle all thy Provinces' (1.1. 16-17), a statement that places the two races, linked by kinship within the historical literature, in an ambiguous relationship to Persia. At this stage, before either people has appeared on the scene, it is unclear whether the threat to Mycetes comes from a single racial grouping, two allied powers, or separate invading forces. The uncertainty is significant in relation to the movement of the plays as a whole. In pairing the two as vigorous powers engaging in lawless

incursion upon ancient and accepted territorial claims, Cosroe unknowingly hints at the common origin of the two peoples.[40]

The vanquishing of age by youth seen in the collapse of Persia before the might of the Tartars is replicated in 1.1.2 by Tamburlaine's successful wooing of Zenocrate who, travelling 'To Memphis, from my uncles country of Medea' (l. 12), is also associated with nations of great antiquity. If the defunct powers that make up the east at the start show a decline from ancient greatness, Tamburlaine's destiny as he outlines it to Zenocrate depends on a reversal of this process, in which he will transcend his origins and move from obscurity to power: 'I am a Lord, for so my deeds shall proove,/And yet a shepheard by my Parentage' (ll. 34-5). The transformation which Tamburlaine intends is signalled dramatically when, in one of Marlowe's most arresting 'effects of literalisation',[41] he declares his intention to make himself 'a terrour to the world' (l. 38), and throws off his shepherd's 'weeds' to reveal himself in 'compleat armour' (l. 42). This is an action directly analogous to Knolles's account of the coronation of Ottoman, and issues in a titanic contest between between the competing Scythian tribes, a prospect already hinted at in the reference to the approach of the 'armie of the mightie Turke' in the same scene (l. 14).

From this point, Tamburlaine progressively throws off the attributes of Scythianness, just as he divested himself of his shepherd's clothing, unexpectedly forbearing to steal the crown of Persia, which the fearful Mycetes has hidden (1.2.4.41-2), developing an organised military power structure, and treating Zenocrate with decorum and consideration.[42] The failure of Tamburlaine's enemies lies in their inability to recognise the transformation that he has effected, and in continuing to see the Tartars even after Tamburlaine's initial successes on the battlefield as mere 'vile outragious men,/That live by rapine and by lawlesse spoile' (1.2.2.23-4).[43] The Persians judge themselves assured of victory by the mere fact that Tamburlaine is a Scythian:

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[40] Knolles, N6 v, notes that as Ottoman was waxing in power, the Byzantine Empire was 'like an old diseasedbodie quite overthrowne and sicke to death'.
[41] David H Thurn, 'Sights of Power in *Tamburlaine*', *ELR*, 19 (1989), 3-21, p. 3.
[42] To Agydas's accusation that Tamburlaine has captured her merely as a Concubine, Zenocrate replies that, 'The entertainment we have had of him/Is far from villanie or servitude,/And might in noble minds be counted princely', 1.3.2.37-9.
[43] The Souldan of Egypt, for example, long after Tamburlaine's ascendancy over the East is secure, denounces him as 'A sturdy Felon and a base-bred Thiefe', 1.4.3.12, threatening him that the King of Arabia will 'dim thy baseness and obscurity', l. 65; Orcanes at 2.3.5.77 taunts his opponent by calling him 'Shepeards issue, base borne Tamburlaine'.

> Suppose they be in number infinit,
> Yet being void of Martiall discipline
> All running headlong after greedy spoiles:
> And more regarding gained than victory [...]
> Their careless swords shal lanch their fellowes throats
> And make us triumph in their overthrow. (ll.43-6, 49-50)

There is an implicit contrast between the shares of spoil granted to Tamburlaine's troops at 1.1.2.182, and the armies of Persia, described by the Persian Lord Ceneus at 1.1.1.147 as threatening mutiny because they are 'wanting both pay and martial discipline'. The dislocation between origin and achievement in the career of Tamburlaine mirrors exactly the disruption of the economy of the original apparent in the literature about the establishment of Turkish power to which we will turn in Chapter Four, power that, as in the case of Tamburlaine's Tartars, is exercised with the utmost degree of military discipline and decorum.[44]

The Turks, when they finally appear at the start of Act Three, are emphatically those of the sixteenth century rather than the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when the scene is set. Bajazeth appears accompanied by Kings of Barbary, Fesse, Argier and Morocco, territories which came under Turkish sway only in the sixteenth century. He is also flanked by 'portly Bassoes' (l. 1), suggesting a possible play on the 'sublime Porte' and inhabits a 'Sarell' (Seraglio, l. 78). Like the Turks of the sixteenth century, his force is swelled by 'warlike bands of Christians renied' (l. 9).[45] He threatens Tamburlaine in terms reminiscent of sixteenth century historians' accounts of the might of the Turks: 'Now shalt thou fear the force of Turkish arms,/Which lately made all Europe quake for feare' (ll. 134-5), and at 1.3.3.238 anticipates the celebration of his defeat in terms that recall festivities held across Europe after the defeat of the Turks at Lepanto: 'Now will the Christian miscreants be glad,/Ringing with joy their superstitious belles:/And making bonfires for my overthrowe'.[46]

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[44] Hugh Goughe, *Ofspring of the house of Ottomano* (1569), B6 v., notes that, '[The Turkish] souldiers have not equall stipends, but every one hath a pension: according to his proper manliness and puissant dedes atchieved. And this is the onlye cause why they prove so desperate prompt and ready to attempt all kynde of valiant actes and adventures'.

[45] Cf. other references to renegades at 1.1.2.130 and 1.3.1.9, and to Ottoman slavery at 1.3.3.44-9 and 2.3.5.42-3.

[46] Dorothy M. Vaughan, *Europe and the Turk: A Pattern of Alliances, 1350-1700* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1954), p. 162, who notes that, 'England rejoiced with bonfires and sermons, and at St. Martin-in-the-Fields the ringers range a great peal "At the overthrowe of the Tork"'. The sense of

Reminders of the modern history of the Turks are not however confined to the representation of Bajazeth and his armies, for Tamburlaine is himself presented in 'Turkish' terms that overlap with the presentation of Bajazeth. He aspires to territories that had reverted to the Turks since the fall of Tamburlaine, at 1.2.5.85, for example, expressing designs on 'the Turke, the Pope, Affrike and Greece'.[47] He also appropriates Turkish titles such as 'monarch of the east', 'terror of the world' and 'scourge of God'.[48] His military force is constantly associated with the use of firepower, unknown at the time when the plays are set, with enormous numbers, and with a multi-ethnic composition, all features that recall contemporary observations of the power of the Turks. Marlowe also stresses Tamburlaine's efficient management of his military organisation, a feature singled out as admirable in relation to Süleyman's command of his armies.[49] The familiarity of the names that characterise the lists of victories constantly reminds us that it is the Turks, not the Tartars, who are eventually to dominate Asia and threaten Europe.

Several critics have noted an effect of doubling in the portrayal of Bajazeth and Tamburlaine.[50] This operates clearly in their first encounter, a war of words in which each tries to command the verbal idiom of the other, rendering the two almost indistinguishable:

> BAJAZETH. Kings of Fesse, Moroccus and Argier,
> He cals me Bajazeth, whom you call Lord.
> Note the presumption of this Scythian slave:
> I tell thee villaine, those that lead my horse
> Have to their names tytles of dignity,
> And dar'st thou bluntly call me Bajazeth?
> TAMBURLAINE. And know thou Turke, that those which lead my horse,
> Shall lead thee Captive thorow Affrica.

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purposive anachronism extends in *2 Tamburlaine* to a specific event from sixteenth century, the siege of Vienna in 1529, see 2.1.1.87.

[47] Cf. Bajazeth's self-description at 1.3.1.2304 as 'Dread Lord of Affrike, Europe and Asia,/Great King and conqueror of Greece'. Given the argument I have put forward in relation to the flexible time-reference in the plays, Fuller's comment that 'transparently Bajazeth is not yet "conqueror of Grecia", and never has been "Lord of ... Europe"' seems to miss the point: these references are included, not to suggest that the Turks possessed such titles at the time when the plays are set, but to present them as destined to pursue them in future generations, and with significant success, see Fuller, 1.3.1.23-4 *n*, p. 192.

[48] For the title 'Monarch of the east', see 1.1.43, 161, 1.1.2.185, 2.4.3.45. The epithets 'scourge of God' and 'terror of the World' are paired at 1.3.3.44-5 and 2.4.1.156. Knolles uses the latter phrase of the Turks in the 'Author's Induction' at A4 v, and in connection with Ottoman at Q4 v.

[49] See Chapter Four, below.

[50] See for example Emily C. Bartels, *Spectacles of Strangeness: Imperialism, Alienation and Marlowe* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), p. 64; Weil, p. 14.

> And dars't thou bluntly call me Tamburlaine?
> BAJAZETH. By Mahomet, my Kinsmans sepculcher,
> And by the holy Alcaron I sweare [...]
> TAMBURLAINE. By this my sword that conquer'd Persea,
> Thy fall shall make me famous through the world.
> (1.3.3.66-76, 82-3)[51]

There is a particular irony in Bajazeth's denunciation of Tamburlaine as 'Scythian slave', a description which applies equally to himself. There is a significant rupture in the likeness however, in that *1 Tamburlaine* presents a Tamburlaine who swears on his sword rather than on Mahomet, suggesting the 'atheist' described by one of Marlowe's earliest critics, Robert Greene.[52] This asymmetry anticipates Marlowe's representation of Tamburlaine as more-or-less of the Turkish religion in the sequel play. The power of the Turks was frequently associated with their ability to maximise the effectiveness of their military machine by harnessing the religious zeal of the soldiers. The anonymous author of *The Policy of the Turkish Empire: The First Booke* (1597), for example, writes that:

> Such as are aquanted with the Histories of the Turkish affaires, and doe advisedly looke into the order and course of their proceedings: doe well perceive, that the chiefest cause of their sodaine and fearefull puissance, hath beene the excellence of their Martial discipline ioyned with a singular desire and resolution to advance and enlarge both the bounds of their Empire and the profession of their Religion. (A3 r)

It is hardly surprising then that Tamburlaine, as he ascends towards higher achievements in terms of organised power, should appear as a Muslim, rather than an atheist, in the second play.[53]

A second asymmetry in the exchange between the rulers in 1.3.3 suggests a still more significant aspect of Tamburlaine's ascent, the question of descent and succession. Extending the verbal competition with Tamburlaine to include the praise of his wife, Bajazeth commends Zabina as:

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[51] Knolles, T4 r, notes that Bajazeth insulted the Tartar rulers by calling him by the 'plaine name of Tamerlane'.
[52] Fuller, xviii.
[53] See, for example, 2.1.3.109.

> Mother of three braver boies
> Than Hercules, that in his infancie
> Did pash the jaws of serpents venomous. (1:3.3.103-5)

Tamburlaine's *riposte*, which claims Zenocrate as 'the loveliest Maide alive,/Fairer than rockes of pearle and pretious stone' (1:3.3.117-8), is crucially silent on the question of offspring. Tamburlaine is of course at this point still childless, but the exchange serves to highlight a crucial difference between the two that is pivotal to the contrast between the two rulers in *2 Tamburlaine*, that of their success as dynasts.[54]

The scene that dramatises Tamburlaine's successful displacement of the Turks puts a prescient comment on Tamburlaine's paternity into the mouth of the conquered Zabina. Forced to observe Tamburlaine feasting from the cage in which she and her husband are imprisoned, Zabina invokes a mythological story as a curse upon Tamburlaine:[55]

> May this banquet prove as omenous,
> As Prognes to th'adulterous Thracian King,
> That fed upon the substance of his child. (1.4.4.23-5)

Zabina's reference to infanticide is strikingly proleptic in relation to the murder of Calyphas in *2 Tamburlaine*, serving to highlight a crucial difference between the Turks and Tartars as presented in the historical literature, which emphasises the question of succession by tracing the collapse of Tartar rule after the death of Tamburlaine to the 'incapacities and contentions of Tamberlines sonnes'.[56]

As Weil has suggested however, the problem in *2 Tamburlaine* seems to lie, not in the incapacities of the sons, but in Tamburlaine's failure as *paterfamilias*.[57] This failure springs from the way his power is seen to depend on horizontal, rather than vertical bonds. Two scenes, for example, depict the distribution of crowns, suggesting

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[54] See Simon Shepherd, *Marlowe and the Politics of Elizabethan Theatre* (Brighton: Harvester, 1986), Ch. 5, 'Turks and Fathers'; Alan Sinfield, 'Legitimating Tamburlaine', in Richard Wilson, ed., *Christopher Marlowe* (New York: Longman, 1999).

[55] A. Clot, *Suleiman the Magnificent: The Man, his Life, his Epoch* (London: Saqi, 1992), p. 193, notes that Bahudar of Gujaret promised Süleyman that, in return for military help, he would send him 'the Portuguese governor [...] in an iron cage'.

[56] George Whetstone, *The English Myrror: A Regard wherein al estates may behold the conquests of envy* (1586), E3 v. Knolles's account of Bajazeth, U6 v, notes that his character was ruined by excess of choler, but that he was more fortunate than Tamburlaine in his succession.

[57] Weil, p. 124: 'Is it perhaps significant that Tamburlaine's household often prompts him to act out his barbaric fantasies?'

an expansion in Tamburlaine's power base, but it is his own peers, rather than his offspring, who receive this favour.[58] Tamburlaine is also shown to be at fault in his uxorious devotion to Zenocrate, a devotion that remains unrelated to any concern with issue, highlighting a failure to ascend to the next age of empire by settling his succession.[59] It is also to friends, rather than to the mother of his future sons, that Tamburlaine issues the instruction to 'weane my state' at 1.1.2.29.

Issues of succession are prominent in the latter part of *2 Tamburlaine*, which presents a marked contrast between the strong vertical familial structures of the Turkish ruling House and Tamburlaine's egocentric view of power. Callepine is respected by the Turks, not for his personal achievements, but as the 'issue of great Bajazeth' (2.1.1.2). Where Tamburlaine fails to resolve the succession, Callepine is undisputed heir at 2.3.1.1 ff., and compares his own power to that of Tamburlaine in terms suggestive of legitimate patrilineage:

> Were the sinowes of th'imperiall seat
> So knit and strengthened, as when Bajazeth
> My royall Lord and father fild the throne,
> Whose cursed fate hath so dismembered it,
> Then should you see this Thiefe of Scythia,
> This proud usurping king of Persea,
> Do us honour [...] and supremacie. (2.3.1.11-7)

Callepine's pious praise of his father, together with the image of the state as a dismembered body, and the denunciation of Tamburlaine as thief and usurper serve to focalise and normalise the Turkish point of view, rendering the Tartars as aberrant.

This sense of the Tartars as other from the central perspective of the Turks is seen most clearly in relation to Tamburlaine's murder of his cowardly son Calyphas, which occasions an extraordinary exchange between Tamburlaine and Callepine:

> TAMBURLAINE. Now shalt thou feel the strength of Tamburlaine,
> And by the state of his supremacie,
> Approove the difference twixt himself and you.
> CALLEPINE. Thou shewest the difference twixt our selves and thee

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[58] See 1.2.5.85, 1.4.4.122. Tamburlaine's dispensing of crowns is suggestive of the Ottoman sultans: Clot, p. 1, cites a letter from Süleyman the Magnificent to Francis I in which he refers to himself as 'Distributor of Crowns to monarchs over the whole Surface of the Globe'.

[59] See 1.5.1.161 ff., 2.5.3.17 ff.

In this thy barbarous damned tyranny. (2.4.1.140-1)

The notion that the Turks' familial and dynastic arrangements were other than tyrannous would have been preposterous to early audiences, given the widely-known custom of fratricidal succession, which we will discuss in more detail in Part Two of this thesis. There is thus a strong irony in Callepine's response to the infanticide. This encounter does nevertheless highlight a difference between Turkish and Tartar power as represented in the play, one that concerns the basis and sustainability of rule, rather than its nature as tyrannous or otherwise. Where Callepine clearly bears a strong patrilineal authority, the sons of Tamburlaine are consistently the focus of anxieties over their worthiness to succeed him:

> When these my sonnes, more precious in mine eies
> Than all the wealthy kingdomes I subdewed,
> Plac'd by her side, looke on their mothers face.
> But yet me thinks their looks are amorous,
> Not martiall as the sons of Tamburlaine. (1.1.3.18-22)

Tamburlaine is in fact frequently beset with doubt over his paternity, telling Celebinus at 2.1.3.58 that 'Thy words assure me boy, thou art my son', and admonishing Calyphas at 2.3.2.95 by asking, 'Villain, art thou the son of Tamburlaine?'.

The final scenes show a marked change in Tamburlaine, whose belated concern for his posterity is registered in anxiously repeated exhortations to 'my boys'.[60] This sudden interest in his sons is not however accompanied by any clear settlement of the succession, which is postponed until the last possible moment and, even then, is ambiguous. The speech in which Amyras is given the crown is stated in terms that seem to endorse the claim of Celebinus as well:

> But sons, this subject not of force enough,
> To hold the fiery spirit it containes,
> Must part, imparting his impressions,
> By equall portions into both your breasts:
> My flesh devided in your precious shapes,
> Shal still retaine my spirit, though I die,
> And live in all your seedes immortally. (2.5.3.169-75)

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[60] See 2.5.3.126, 159, 169, 246.

This image of Tamburlaine's body divided between his sons after his death echoes the image of the divided state Tartar state post-Tamburlaine described in historical accounts such as that of Whetstone, who writes that Tamburlaine:

> Left behind him two sons, every way unlike their father: between whom envy sowed such dissention, that through their incapacities to govern the conquests of their father, the children of Baiazet, whom they kept prisoners, stole into Asia, and so won the people to disobedience, as the recovered the goods and possessions that their father lost.[61]

The final image with which Tamburlaine leaves his uncertain heir Amyras at 2.5.3.225-45 confirms this sense of the Tartar empire as destined to disintegration:

> If thy body thrive not full of thoughtes
> As pure and fiery as Phyteus beames,
> The nature of these proud rebelling Jades
> Wil take occasion by the slenderest haire,
> And drawthee peecemeale like Hyppolitus
> The nature of thy chariot wil not beare
> A guide of baser temper than my selfe,
> More than heavens coach, the pride of Phaeton. (237-45)

In evoking two doomed sons, Phaethon and Hippolytus, Tamburlaine's parting words, like his previous deeds, are focused on his own glory rather than on posterity, and thus serve as an indictment of his own failed paternity. With a final irony, he signals himself as Apollo using the Greek epithet Phyteus, which derives from a word meaning 'generative'.[62]

If settlement of the succession as a prerequisite for establishing settled rule is a central theme in the closing scenes of *2 Tamburlaine*, so too is physical settlement. As he nears his end, Tamburlaine is increasingly preoccupied with the return to his native city, never named before the passage which immediately precedes the murder of Calyphas:

> O Samarcanda where I breathed first,
> And joy'd the fire of this martiall flesh,
> Blush, blush faire citie, at thine honors foile,
> And shame of nature which Jaertis streame,

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[61] Whetstone, F1 v.
[62] See Fuller, l. 238, *n*, p. 283.

Embracing thee with deepest of his love,
Can never wash from thy distained browes. (2.4.2.107-112)

In *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, Stephen Greenblatt gives a darkly romantic reading which relegates place to the status of an echo chamber for existential anxiety, hearing in the plays 'the voice of conquest, but [...] also the voice of wants never finished and of transcendental homelessness'.[63] In keeping with this view, he underestimates the importance of Samarcanda as a potent symbol of the aspiration of a fledgling dynasty towards settlement: 'It is ironic', he notes, 'that when a meaningful sense of place finally emerges in Marlowe, it does so only as a place to die' (p. 196). In *2 Tamburlaine*, Samarcanda represents not a 'place to die', but a seat of empire; Tamburlaine's failure to attain it communicates first and foremost, not abstract observations about 'restlessness, aesthetic sensitivity, appetite and violence' (p. 194), but details of a real history that was of pressing and immediate interest to early audiences.

Eighty years after Ethel Seaton first argued that the locations in Tamburlaine were meaningful, criticism remains strongly committed to the type of subjectivist approach of which Greenblatt's reading is an eloquent example.[64] Geographical questions are often neglected entirely, or admitted in the form of more or less plausible analogies between the conflicts fought out in *Tamburlaine* and the English experience vis-à-vis the colonial encounters in the Americas, the war with Spain, or the trade with Russia.[65] The issues raised by the historical writings which Tamburlaine derives from, issues concerning the past and future of oriental power, and the nature of its particular *translatio imperii*, remain seriously under-explored.

An element of the geographical imaginary of *Tamburlaine* that has proved troublesome to critics is its constant expanding of boundaries. A couple of examples from Fuller's notes on the plays will serve as illustrations. In the opening scene of *1 Tamburlaine*, Ortygius crowns the usurping Cosroe as:

Monarche of the East,
Emperour of Asia, and of Persea,
Great Lord of Medea and Armenia:

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[63] Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1980), p. 196. Subsequent references are in the text.
[64] See Ethel Seaton, 'Marlowe's Map', in Clifford Leech, ed., *Marlowe: A Collection of Critical Essays* (Eaglewood Cliffs, NJ, 1964).
[65] See respectively Greenblatt p. 94; Shepherd; and Richard Wilson, 'Visible Bullets: Tamburlaine the Great and Ivan the Terrible', in Richard Wilson, ed., *Christopher Marlowe* (London: Longman, 1999).

> Duke of Assiria and Albania,
> Mesopotamia and of Parthia,
> East India and the late discovered Isles. (1.1.1.161-6)

While the references to Medea, Assyria and Parthia, like those to Darius, Xerxes and Alexander elsewhere in this scene clearly conjure an ancient world that complements the archaic atmosphere of the Persian court, Fuller experiences some puzzlement over the reference to the 'late discovered Isles'. He argues against a suggestion that this reference is to the West Indies on the basis that it 'fits neither the logic of Ortygius's geography nor any plausible extent of the Persian empire'.[66] A similar example occurs in *2 Tamburlaine*, where Fredericke, the Duke of Buda, complains of recent Turkish outrages:

> Your Majesty remembers I am sure
> What cruell slaughter of our Christian bloods,
> These heathenish Turks and pagans lately made,
> Betwixt the citie Zula and Danubius,
> How through the midst of Verna and Bulgaria
> And almost to the very walles of Rome,
> They have not long since massacred our Camp. (2.2.1.4-10)

Perplexed by what seems an impossibly ahistorical suggestion of a Turkish assault on Rome, Fuller interprets the reference as indicating 'probably Constantinople'.[67] As with the reference to the 'late discovered Isles', what the surface of the text seems to indicate runs counter to orderly geographical proceeding. In both cases however, 'Turkish' Tamburlaine may have his sights set further than a modern editor, over-concerned about 'anachronism' is ready to admit: Süleyman the Magnificent entertained ambitions in both the Indies and Rome.[68]

The expansive geography of *Tamburlaine* is suggestive in relation to a historical tradition that represented Scythian peoples as aimless wanderers, living for the moment without any thought of sustainable rule. In responding to this tradition, Marlowe has fashioned an image that is strikingly disruptive of the traditional economy of origins, stressing the capacity of the east to differ from itself, and for its societies to evolve from nomadism to effective, fixed and sustainable dynasties.

The materials explored in Part II confront us with the most tangible and irrefutable evidence of this capacity to change, in the form of the Turks' migration from

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[66] Fuller, 1.1.1.66, *n*, p. 172.
[67] Fuller, 2.2.1.9, *n*, p. 240.
[68] See Clot, p. 189; Halil Inalcık, 'State and Ideology under Süleyman the Magnificent', *The Middle East and the Balkans*, 9 (1993), 70-94, p. 79.

the Caucasus to the part of Asia Minor bordering on Europe. The extensive literature about the Palace at Constantinople reinforces the view that in this movement westward, the Turks had left behind what the literature presents as their abiding and definitive nomadism. This threat, more than any other, lies behind the development of a sophisticated literature of political analysis of Turkish power. Rather than simply rendering obsolete earlier attempts to narrativise the difference of the Turks however, this literature takes on the task of showing how, in the midst of so radical a change as that from nomadism to sedentariness and a sort of civility, the Turks nevertheless remained in important essentials the same. Continuity is thus asserted even as change is conceded, and the Ottoman dynasty is analysed to show the continuity of its immemorial tendency to unnatural family relations, seen most clearly in the institutionalising of fractricide and infanticide. For western writers, these practices reproduce the archaic patterns of violence unchanged from their originals in stories of the enmity of Biblical brothers and the fraternal rebellion of Muhammad, at the very same time as representations of the Seraglio threaten to undermine the traditional link between the historical destiny of the Turks and their 'originall'.

Part Two

The Image of the Othoman Greatnesse

Chapter Four

Early Modern Descriptions of the Seraglio

The histories of the Turks explored in Part One are characterised by an ambivalent focus that interrogates the past in order to illuminate the present, invoking and elaborating upon origins with a view to explaining present realities. They address primarily the hostility of the Turks to Europe, defined in terms of a unity variously derived from its sacral history, and from its imagined classical descent. Writers in both historical modes denigrate the Turks by tracing them to unworthy forbears, showing their present strength as somehow anomalous or ill-fated. This process of employing history as a reaction formation to the perceived perils of the present is seen particularly clearly in *Tamburlaine*, in which Marlowe projects a very immediate sense of Turkish power back onto an imagined point of origin, illuminated not by the early history of the Turks themselves, but by the analogous experience of a kindred people, the Tartars. In doing so he renovates the traditional study of the *origines gentium* by resolving the question of the Turks' success, and the failure of the Tartars, upon the formers' capability to transcend their origins, in short, to change.

That the Turks had in fact changed since their nomadic, primitive youth is apparent nowhere in the western literature about the Turks more than in texts describing the centre of Ottoman power, the Great Seraglio at Constantinople, which from 1453 presented the West with the most concrete image of a practice of power centred on lawfulness, civility, military discipline, and dynastic continuity. This more recent image, which we explore in Part Two, nevertheless bears the traces of historical modes centred on the distant origin, in which questions of disrupted kinship are so prominent. These features, invoked in sacral and classicising narratives of Turkish history to account for the enmity of Turks towards the Christian West, are re-expressed in texts addressing the present as an internal characteristic of the Turkish practice of power, with the endemic violence internal to the House of Ottoman, and the institutionalisation of royal fratricide in particular, holding out the hope that the Turks will somehow devour and destroy themselves. The dual themes of settlement and succession which we explored in relation to *Tamburlaine* in Chapter Two are closely bound up in the texts of Renaissance

historia sui temporis with the Seraglio as a space symbolic at once of the effective exercise of power, and of its ultimate self-destructiveness.

The central figure in the development of the classic image of Turkish power is Süleyman the Magnificent (1520-66). Celebrated as presiding over the period of the Ottoman Empire's great ascendancy, it was Süleyman who fashioned the Seraglio as known in the west; his fame in Elizabethan England is attested by three dramatic renderings.[1] Süleyman's reign provided a complex object of study for western writers of the sixteenth century, embodying an image at once of effective power and domestic tyranny. The crown Süleyman inherited from his father Selim I in 1520 was one whose prestige had been greatly increased by a series of conquests in the Middle East. Egypt and Syria were now under Ottoman rule, while the capture of Palestine had knocked the confidence of western Christians, forcing pilgrims to endure Ottoman control of their movements and access to holy sites (a control that was however exercised benignly under the Franciscan administration entrusted with the task). The capture of Arabia had enabled Selim to assume the guardianship of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, and the title of Caliph, a development that was decisive in Süleyman's development of a more theocratic view of kingship.[2] The early years of Süleyman's reign saw a strengthening of the Ottoman possessions within Christendom, both in the Mediterranean and the Balkans in the summer of 1529, in siege of Vienna, that, if unsuccessful, nevertheless made a huge impact on the consciousness of Europe, not least through the writings of Luther.[3] Four decades of sustained military effort meant that by the time of his last, Hungarian, campaign, in 1566, Süleyman had established a position of unprecedented strength for his empire, and a commensurate reputation. As Clot comments:

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[1] Descriptions of Süleyman in English texts derived from diplomatic sources are to be found in, Ogier Chislain de Busbecq, *Turkish Letters*, trans. by E. S. Forster, Introduction by Phillip Mansel (London: Sickle Moon Books, 2001), discussed below; Ascham's 'Report of the affairs of Germany' in *English Works of Sir Roger Ascham*, ed. by William Aldis Wright (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1904) and T. Washington, trans., *The Navigations, Peregrinations and Voyages, made into Turkie*, [by Nicholas Nicholay] (1585). Ascham incorporates an account of Süleyman based on Paulus Jovius; Nicholay was part of the entourage of the first French ambassador at Constantinople in the 1530s. The three English dramas depicting Süleyman are the anonymous academic play *Solymannidae Tragoedia* (1582), discussed by Samuel C. Chew *The Crescent and the Rose: England and Islam during the Renaissance* (New York: Octagon, 1965), p. 500, *Soliman and Perseda*, and Fulke Greville's *Mustapha*, which forms the subject of Chapter Five, below.

[2] Gülrü Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Sixteenth Century* (New York: Architectural History Foundation, 1991), pp. 253-4.

[3] See Chapter One, above.

> At the time of Süleyman's death, the Ottoman Empire was not only the most powerful in the world in terms of military might, the extent of the territory it controlled and its sovereign's riches, but in the size of its population.[4]

The Turks suffered their first significant defeat, at Lepanto, only in 1571, so contemporary western writers do not tend to associate Süleyman's reign with Ottoman decline. The dominant mood is captured by Busbecq, ambassador from the Emperor Ferdinand in the 1550s, and generally an intelligent and rather sympathetic commentator on Turkish affairs. He concludes his letters in terms that anticipate, and may have influenced, the language of Marlowe's dramatic treatment of oriental history, by reminding readers of the 'scourge sent against us by the anger of heaven [...] Attila in the olden time, Tamerlane within the recollection of our grandfathers, and such as the ottoman Sultans are in our own days'.[5] Süleyman was for Busbecq, as for many western writers in the century following, a figure of fear, but one whose power there was no doubting.

The western image of a haughty and omnipotent controller of the most powerful empire since that of the Romans expresses quite directly Süleyman's self-conscious modelling of the image of Turkish power as he strove to render his rule invincible. A Turkish inscription from the period expresses the extravagance of the claims Süleyman made about himself, and that shaped the image of Turkish power that he was instrumental in fashioning:

> I am God's slave and sultan of this world. By the grace of God I am head of Muhammad's community. God's might and Muhammad's miracles are my companions. I am Süleyman, in whose name the *hutbe* is read in Mecca and Medina. In Baghdad I am the shah, in Byzantine realms the caesar, and in Egypt the sultan; who sends his fleets to the seas of Europe, the Maghrib and India. I am the sultan who took the crown and throne of Hungary and granted them to a humble slave. The voivoda Petru raised his head in revolt, but my horse's hoofs ground him into the dust, and I conquered the land of Moldavia.[6]

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[4] A. Clot, *Suleiman the Magnificent: The Man, his Life, his Epoch* (London: Saqi, 1992), p. 298.
[5] Busbecq, p. 161. Busbecq was widely known in England in the early modern period through the edition of the Latin text printed in Paris in 1589, see Chew, p. 498 (the letters were not translated into English until 1694). Busbecq's choice of Attila and Tamerlane as analogous figures is significant, given that Attila was traditionally, held to be of Scythian descent: See Roy W. Battenhouse, 'Tamburlaine, the Scourge of God', *PMLA*, 56 (1941), 337-48, p. 340.
[6] Inscription on the citadel at Bender, cited Halil Inalcık, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age, 1300-1600,* trans. by Norman Itkovitz and Colin Imber (New York: Praeger Publications, 1973), p. 41. Cf. the list of provinces over which the Turks and Tartars fight at *2 Tamburlaine*, 3.1.1 ff. (references to

These lofty terms echo through all sorts of western writing, where they register not simply as an instance of personal pride, but as containing a truth about the difference of the power of the Turks, a power at once so outrageous, and so threatening.[7]

The pride evident in the Sultan's public utterances was doubly apparent when it came to the main object of western meditation on the power of the Turks, the Seraglio at Constantinople. There diplomats and merchants witnessed not merely vast wealth and strength, but a visual and dramatic presentation of imperial might that was at once consciously fashioned and powerfully consistent. As the Venetian ambassador Moro noted in 1590:

> The sultan's arrogant conviction of world dominion was reflected in all his affectation: in his patronizing letters to other monarchs, in his official chronicles praising Ottoman conquests to the point of vanity, in his use of mute signs instead of words, in his refusal to appear at all in public, as if mere mortals were not worthy to look upon him.[8]

In a system developed partly from the military traditions inherited by the early Ottoman Sultans, and partly from the court ceremonial of Byzantium, and perhaps also influenced by the western classical models to which successive sultans aspired, Süleyman had perfected a court system which both expressed and intensified the high claims made by the Ottoman monarchy after 1453.

Süleyman is known as *kanun-i* (law-giver) in Turkish, and as 'the Magnificent' in the west, *soubriquets* that neatly map two central and complementary aspects of his importance.[9] Among his achievements in the field of civil law is the *kanun-name*, a detailed body of civil law, which also codified the ceremonial of the palace, creating the atmosphere so impressive to Western observers. His innovations, all conceived as

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Tamburlaine in this chapter are to David Fuller's edition, Vol. 5 in *The Complete Works of Christopher Marlowe*, ed. by Roma Gill (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987-1998). The *hutbe*, prayers for the Caliph said at Mecca, symbolised the theocratic claims made advanced by Süleyman on behalf of the Ottomans; the title 'caesar' is significant in relation to the Turkish claims to a Roman lineage discussed in Chapter Two, above.

[7] The vaunting style of the sultans' mode of address to foreign rulers was accessible to readers of English in the anonymous compendium of letters allegedly by Mehmet II, *The Turkes Secretore, Conteining His Sundrie Letters sent to Divers Emperours, kings, Princes and States, full of Proud Bragges and Bloody Threatenings* (1607). Three individual letters published in English are cited by Chew, p. 141, who also provides a citation from Shakespeare: 'The Turk, that two and fifth kingdoms hath,/Writes not so tedious a style as this', *1 Henry VI*, 4.7.73-4. As we saw in Chapter Three, the 'high astounding terms' employed in *Tamburlaine* (see 'Prologue', l. 5) are ones largely associated with the Turks.

[8] Necipoğlu, p. 26.

[9] On the title *kanun-i*, see Halil Inalcık, 'State and Ideology under Süleyman the Magnificent', *The Middle East and the Balkans*, 9 (1993), 70-94, p. 85.

means to enhance the majesty of the sultan by making him more remote, included confining him to the Third Court of the palace except on special occasions, restricting access to the Third Court even to the most senior officials, and the maintenance of silence during engagements both private and public. This latter development, noted by many western observers, led to the striking spectacle of a sultan seated in impassive silence when ambassadors were brought to kiss his robe at their official receptions, and to the development of sign-language for use by pages and slaves who needed to communicate with one another in his presence.[10] The development of the Harem in its classical form, which is a prominent aspect of western accounts of the power of the Turks as seen at their own day, also took place under Süleyman.

'Magnificent', the western equivalent of *kanun-i* is generally taken to express the splendour of the court so amply attested by the numerous accounts of costume, treasure and military might observed by foreign visitors. This aspect is certainly not to be overlooked, and one vivid example, a French ambassadorial account of the circumcision festivities held for the birth of Prince Mustapha in 1530, may stand for dozens of such in the European writings of the sixteenth century:

> Süleyman rode to the Hippodrome, where a throne had been set up below a canopy 'dazzling with gold'. Surrounded by viziers, *beylerbey* and the *ağa* of the janissaries, he received the congratulations and gifts of the leading dignitaries and, on the following day, those of the former viziers, the Kurdish emirs and the Venetian ambassadors. 'The gifts', the latter reported, 'surpassed in magnificence anything we had seen up to then': shawls and Indian muslin, the cloths of Greece and Venetian velvet, silver plates full of gold pieces, gold cups encrusted with jewels, lapis-lazuli discs, Chinese porcelain, Russian furs and Arab mares. The sultan was also offered Mamluks and young boys, Ethiopian and Hungarian slaves. Shortly afterwards, mock battles were held: an assault was made on two wooden towers, which were set alight amid fireworks and fanfares. The following days, acrobats, musicians, clowns and jugglers gained great applause. On the fourteenth day, leading dignitaries went in procession to fetch the three young princes who were to be circumcised, and competitions in public speaking and discussions about religious doctrine were held.[11]

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[10] Sign language forms the key element of Jonson's comic parody of the Turkish Court in *Epicoene*, see Chapter Six, below.
[11] Cited in Clot, pp. 77-8.

This account of a public appearance by Süleyman is in some ways typical, suggesting as it does the vast scale and sumptuous display of Ottoman ceremonial, and the multi-ethnic character of the state it embodied. The emphasis on spectacle should not however be over-stated. What made Turkish rulers unique for western writers was not the occasional festivities, the general character of which, if not the scale, paralleled that of western courts, but the day-to-day workings of the palace system. The Seraglio formed an obsessional image of Turkish power for western writers, not because of its lavish scale and rich trappings, but because it was recognised as a uniquely eloquent and effective embodiment of a system of power that was in important essentials quite different from the models of royal and aristocratic courts known to western observers.

The Seraglio as re-fashioned by Süleyman was a unique institution, without peer or parallel in east or west as a 'coercive space',[12] at once the chief barracks of the Empire, its religious centre, site of the university of its civil service, and the abode of the ruler, with his ever-growing entourage of pages and Harem women. More than all these things, the construction, layout and ceremonial of the palace served as the embodiment of the principles that motored Ottoman rule, 'a vast stage for the enactment of a ceremonial, codified down to the smallest detail, whose symbolic language emphasised the elevated status of the sultan' (xvi), dramatising the power of the sultan by endowing his person, seldom seen, with an aura of the sacred.

The succession of Courts was marked by an increasing severity of rule that allowed relatively normal conduct in the First Court, known as the 'Court of the Janissaries', which the public could also enter, but restricted access to and enforced total silence within the second. At the far side of the Second Court to its entrance was the embattled gateway that marked the beginning of the space restricted to the sultan and his entourage, the Third Court or 'Abode of Felicity' (p. 56). The gateway was a readily intelligible symbol of the Sultan's unseen but dominating presence, an architectural attempt to reinforce the power of the sultan by symbolising his physical withdrawal from those he ruled, part of a panoptical system of interconnected architectural motifs based on the idea of vantage. Various points of observation strategically distributed around the space of the palace and concealed by curtains or windows reminded the subject of a commanding ocular power. To enter the palace was to be made constantly aware that, though one might not see the sultan (and indeed, to

[12] Necipoğlu, p. 250. Subsequent references are in the text.

do so accidentally could result in death), he could see one. Such was the purpose of the internal windows that over-looked proceedings in the court of justice in the divan (p. 58), and similar arrangements existed for the sultan to observe the activities of people in the palace in each court. The design of these vantage points meant that it could not be ascertained whether the sultan was actually present behind the window at any given time, a refinement that had the practical advantage of not obliging the sultan to devote his entire day to surveillance. At the same time, it magnified the unease experienced by those (potentially) being observed.

The same principle lay behind Süleyman's construction of a 'tower of justice' in the Third Court, a commanding structure that enabled the sultan to observe executions taking place in the Second Court. It was customary on these occasions for the condemned to shout out pleas for mercy as the moment of execution approached, cries presumably rendered all the more desperate because it was not possible to see through the open window at the top of the tower whether the sultan was actually present to hear (p. 59).[13] The vantage afforded by the tower of justice operated at once on a local level to enact the sultan's command of the palace and its constituent spaces, and more universally, to suggest a relation of total control, not only in relation to Constantinople but to the wider empire of which it was the symbolic centre. Poised on a promontory that accords views of near parts of the Ottoman possessions in both Europe and Asia, the New Palace was fashioned by Süleyman into a microcosm of the whole centralised structure of imperial power (pp. 94, 244). Considered both from the point of view of its internal workings and of its external impact, the dominant feature of this complex aesthetic and political system is its manipulation of ocular power, the 'omnivoyant, spectacular site as a metaphor for world dominion' (p. 13).[14]

A striking feature of the after-life of early modern western accounts of the Seraglio is that the scopic should continue to be the dominant element. In the case of Enlightenment and Romantic period images, it is an erotic rather than a political

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[13] Necipoğlu is throughout her study strikingly dependent on western sources for details of how the palace system worked in operation: for Venetian references to the procedure at executions, see *n* 12; for the concealed access to the window of observation in the tower of justice, see p. 85 (*n* 74 gives sources for similar arrangements elsewhere in the palace).

[14] Necipoğlu's study shows the extent to which the rules and symbolism of the palace as a whole were understood by western writers, a fact that perhaps reflects the partially-realised absolutist ambitions of western dynasties at this period, and the proliferation of spying and surveillance to which the presence of European ambassadors at the Porte itself points.

looking that chiefly occupies writers, a development which I will consider in more detail in Chapter Seven. What is important to stress here is the way early modern accounts consistently emphasise the political over the sexual, locating the Harem as part of a vast and effective regime of power. This is clearly demonstrated by the works to which we will turn shortly, extended descriptions of the Seraglio by the Venetian Ottaviano Bon and the Frenchman Michel Baudier, translated into English in 1625 and 1634 respectively.

A traditional feature of Islamic courts in the Near East, the Harem had an important role from the time of Mehmet II and grew in size through successive reigns. The decisive development was Süleyman's decision to move it from the old palace on the outskirts of the city, where Mehmet had located it, to the centre of rule at Topkapı. This change signalled an era in which women played an increasingly prominent political role as the sultan's contact was increasingly restricted to that with pages, eunuchs and women of the Harem (Süleyman was in fact the last sultan to have private living quarters outside the Harem). Paradoxically, at least to western writers, the expansion of what seemed to be an institution intended to incarcerate women becomes associated with a consolidation of female political influence within the palace, anticipating the seventeenth century period known as the 'reign of women'. The pernicious influence of women at this time is often credited as a major cause of Ottoman decline: Clot, for example, notes of the move of the women from the old to the new palace that, 'the Harem and the state were no longer separate; the consequences of this were to prove deplorable'. Glancing at contemporary western sources, he notes that under Süleyman, 'telltale signs started to worry the more far-sighted observers: inflation and financial difficulties, rural depopulation [...] undue influence of court favourites and women in the affairs of state'.[15]

The censure of early modern commentators on Turkish affairs focuses very heavily on the malign influence of a single figure, Hürrem Sultan, known in the west as Roxolana.[16] Of uncertain origin, but traditionally held to be a Polish Christian by birth, Roxolana succeeded in winning Süleyman's affections, to the extent that he contracted

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[15] Clot, pp. 70, 299. Necipoğlu, p. 159, makes a similar point.
[16] See Leslie P. Peirce, *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 57-63, 276.

a religious marriage to her, the first such by an Ottoman sultan.[17] By this means, she was able to supplant all rivals within the Harem, and exerted influence to secure the post of Grand Vizier for her favoured candidate, Rüstem Pasha, and ensure the succession for her son Selim by persuading Süleyman to execute his eldest son, Mustapha, an episode that for western writers instances the unnatural weakness of kinship ties within the Turkish royal dynasty. Stories of the rise and ruthlessness of Roxolana captured the imagination because they expressed a powerful paradox at the heart of the problem of Turkish power, namely the vulnerability of an uxorious sultan to being undermined by his inordinate love of a woman. As Busbecq notes at the conclusion of his first letter, '[Süleyman's] bitterest critics can find nothing more serious to allege against him than his undue submission to his wife and its result in his somewhat precipitate action in putting Mustapha to death'.[18]

The most celebrated account of the Harem in English, Thomas Dallam's Diary, is in fact strikingly atypical of the period in the way it emphasises sensuality to the neglect of any sense of the Seraglio as a system of power. Dallam visited the Ottoman court at the expense of the Levant Company in 1599 to deliver a mechanical clock organ as a present to the Sultan Mehmet III. His account is justly famous for its vivid descriptions and colloquial style, exhibited to great effect in the passage describing an occasion on which, finding himself at the Seraglio in the charge of palace slaves one afternoon, Dallam is taken into the Third Court. Wounded by what he perceives as harsh treatment at the hands of Ambassador Lello and the Levant Company officials, Dallam has throughout his account consistently represented the Seraglio as the scene of a compensatory fantasy in which he achieves well-earned social recognition. Admitted, in the absence of the Sultan, to the inner sanctum of the palace, Dallam brings this fantasy to its apogee by relating how he sat on what he took to be the Grand Signior's throne, held the sword of state, and finally got a glimpse into the Harem:

> When he had showed me many other thinges which I wondered at, than crossinge throughe a little squar courte paved with marble, he poynted me to goo to a graite in a wale, but made me a sine that he myghte not goo thether him selfe.

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[17] Inalcık, p. 87, notes that previous sultans had entered into canonically legal marriage with up to four women. The claim, common in western writings, that Süleyman was the first sultan to marry are thus strictly inaccurate.

[18] Busbecq, pp. 43, 19. Interestingly, in view of the discussion of Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* in Chapter Three above, it is to Beyazit I (Marlowe's Bajazet) that Busbecq compares Süleyman in singling out uxoriousness as his principal failing.

> When I came to the grait the wale was verrie thicke, and graited on bothe the sides with iron verrie strongly; but through that graite I did se thirtie of the Grand Sinyor's Concobines that weare playinge with a bale in another courte. At the first sighte of them I thoughte they had bene yonge men, but when I saw the hare of their heades hange done on their backes, platted together with a tasle of smale pearle hanging in the lower end of it, and by other plaine tokens, I did know them to be women and verrie prettie ones indeede. [...]
>
> I stood so longe loukinge upon them that he which had showed me all this kindnes began to be verried angrie with me. He made a wrye mouthe, and stamped his foute to make me give over looking; the which I was verrie lothe to dow, for that sighte did please me wondrous well.[19]

Noting, rather casually, that he is the first westerner to be admitted to these forbidden quarters, Dallam presents these extraordinary scopic pleasures as evidence that foreigners recognise his worth.[20] Rather than attempting any analysis of how the Harem functions in relation to the palace system, Dallam's main aim is to contrast this and other privileges accorded him by palace officials with what he takes to be the harsh treatment he has received at the hands of his own countrymen throughout the voyage. The Seraglio figures as little more than a stage for the playing out of his personal grudges and aspirations, an emphasis suggesting a lack of familiarity with the existing literature about the Seraglio.[21] What he does produce is an account strikingly proleptic in relation to the Enlightenment and Romantic period image of the Seraglio, an image which eschewed politics in favour of the picturesque, the erotic and the sentimental, and which concentrates on the gendered pleasures of forbidden looking.[22]

Dallam's claim of unprivileged access to the Third Court is not unique in the period. The Venetian *bailó* Ottaviano Bon wrote an account of the Seraglio in 1608, and known in English at least from the 1620s, that also purports to relate details of the

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[19] Thomas Dallam, 'Diary', in *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant 1. The Diary of Master Thomas Dallam, 1599-1600 2. Extracts from the Diaries of Dr. John Covel, 1670-1679* ed. by Theodore J. Bent, (London: Hakluyt Society, 1893), pp. 74-5. Bent's was the first printed edition of this text.
[20] Mary C. Fuller, 'English Turks and Resistant Travelers: Conversion to Islam and Homosocial Courtship', in Ivo Kamps and Jyotsna Singh, eds., *Travel Knowledge: European 'Discoveries' in the Early Modern Period* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), p. 66, interprets the place slaves' granting of access to forbidden areas of the palace as part of a strategy of enticing him to renage and join the Ottoman royal service.
[21] A useful point of reference for Dallam is provided by James S. Amelang, *The Flight of Icarus: Artisan Autobiography in Early Modern Europe* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998).
[22] See Chapter Seven, below.

forbidden section of the palace as from an eye-witness.[23] Noting the strict security which barred all but the sultan and his intimates access to the Third Court, Bon claims that:

> It happened, that I taking hold of a fit time, the King being abroad a hunting, through the great friendship which was twixt my selfe and the *Kabiyah* of the *Bustange Bashee*; had the opportunitie (he being my guide) to goe into the Serraglio, entering in at a Gate by the Sea side; where he shewed me many of the Kings backward roomes, divers Bagnoes, and many other curious and very delightfull things.[24]

Bon's account of his tour of the forbidden Third Court is dominated by his conjectures as to the use of each chamber and plot of garden by the sultan, and its significance as an expression of his power; the fact that he does not claim to have seen into the Harem is perhaps a point in favour of his veracity. The context of Bon's description of the Third Court and Harem in a dense analysis of the Seraglio as a political institution shows a very clear difference of emphasis from Dallam's account. It is Bon's voice, and not Dallam's, that expresses the mainstream of early modern analysis of the Seraglio.

Where Dallam is clearly indulging an erotic fantasy as he remembers the harem women, Bon characterises the harem as 'in manner like a Nunnerie' (Qqqqqqq 7 r), part of the palace institution that functions as a whole as 'the Seminarie or Nurcerie of Subiects' (Rrrrrrr 1 v).[25] Bon places his chief emphasis on the power of the sultan over all the people of the palace, stressing a basic similarity in the position of male and female denizens of the palace:

> All they which are in the Serraglio, both men and women, are the Grand Signior's slaves, and so are all they which are subject to his Empire: for, as hee is their onely Soveraigne, so they doe all of them acknowledge, that whatsoever they doe possess or enjoy, proceedeth meerely and simply from his goodwill and favour. (Rrrrrrr 1 v)

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[23] 'The Grand Signior's Seraglio: Written by Master Robert Withers', in Samuel Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimes, in Five Bookes* (London, 1625), Book One, Part Nine, Chapter Fifteen. Subsequent references are to Purchas's version, and are in the text. A second translation of Bon, made later in the seventeenth century, has recently been republished, see Godfrey Goodwin, ed., *The Sultan's Seraglio: An intimate Portrait of Life at the Ottoman Court, from the seventeenth century edition of John Withers* (London: Saqi, 1996).

[24] Translation by John Withers, printed in Samuel Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimes, in Five Bookes* (London, 1625), Book One, Part Nine, Chapter Fifteen, (Rrrrrrr v). The official Bon refers to is the assistant to the head gardener. Subsequent references to Bon are in the text.

[25] Necipoğlu, p. 180, notes that the Harem of the early seventeenth century 'resembled a monastery for young girls more than the bordello of European imagination'.

Bon's account is shaped by a sense of the Harem and page school as parallel institutions: Harem women and pages alike are forcibly recruited from distant, and generally, Christian regions; both also are strictly policed to deter them from unsanctioned sexual activity such as masturbation, homosexual contact and, in the case of the harem women, the use of dildos (Rrrrrrr 3 r-v, 5 r). Bon's account of the sultan's social and sexual access is dealt with in a business-like fashion that stresses the strict observance of protocol. There is no suggestion of the libertinism and excess taken as read by writers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The women of the palace in Bon's account, especially those of the sultan's immediate family, are far from being powerless, incarcerated victims. The daughters of a sultan, for example, are customarily married to senior *pashas*, and become 'for the most part their Husbands Masters' (Rrrrrrr 2 v). Like other early modern writers, Bon sees in the power of the women a major weakness of what is in other ways an impressive and effective system, corroborating Busbecq's observations on the personal failings of Süleyman. Bon gives a particularly detailed account of the position of the Queen Sultana, stressing her financial and political power, but also the dependency of her position on being the mother of an heir. She is demoted to the status of Sultana when another harem woman bears the sultan an heir, a feature of the system that echoes the story of the murder of Mustapha as dramatised by Greville, to which we turn in Chapter Five, below. Like Greville, Bon associates the Harem with 'great dissimulation and inward malice' on the part of women (Rrrrrrr 2 r).

Bon's description consistently focuses on the palace as a working, human institution, and his careful recording of the titles, responsibilities and pay of officers shows an emphasis on administration in line with the wider diplomatic literature as described by Necipoğlu. The physical layout of the palace features solely with reference to its bearing on the organisation of people, and more picturesque details such as the gardens and kiosks, the sumptuousness of decoration, the liveries of the various ranks of pages and guards, and the use of sign-language, are presented as aspects of the author's examination of the palace as a political institution. Central to all the details of administration is Bon's sense of the palace as realising a belief in the sultan's power as absolute, and dramatising his effective control over his slaves.

The sultan's total rule extends to his senior ministers, as Bon notes in his account of his overseeing of the proceedings in the divan:

> The Grand Signior's predecessors were alwaies wont, and this man [Ahmet I, 1603-1617] sometimes commeth prively by an upper way to a certaine little window which looketh into the Divan, right over the head of the chiefe Vizier, and there sitteth with a Lattice before him, that he may not be seene, to heare and see what is done in the Divan [...] and by this means coming to that window, the chiefe Vizier (who alwaies standeth in jeopardy of losing his head, upon any displeasure of the Grand Signior) is enforced to carrie himselfe very uprightly, and circumspectly in the managing of his affaires. (Rrrrrrr 1 r)

As a consequence of this technique of surveillance, senior ministers are seen to be no less vulnerable than the lowliest of the sultan's slaves:

> [The pashas] alwaies live in great feare, through the multiplicities of businesse that passeth through their hands, and in danger of losing their lives at a short warning; which makes them, use the Proverbe; that He that is greatest in Office, is but a statue of Glasse. (Sssssss 2 v)

At the root of whole edifice, is the slave system itself, and Bon duly notes the reversion of property to the sultan upon the death of an officer. It is a system that, for Bon at least, stirs feelings of admiration, rather than of disapproval, and, in a striking reversal of the economy of origins described in Part One of this thesis, Bon notes the organisation of the palace as 'nothing resembling the Barbarisme of Turkes, but beseeming Subjects of singular Vertue and Discipline' (Rrrrrrr 4 v).

In connection with the reception of foreign ambassadors, Bon notes that Ahmet I adheres in every detail to what is 'appointed in the canon'. The 'canon' in question is the protocol established by Süleyman, and Wither's choice of word, perhaps reflecting Bon's Italian, seems to point to the law-book, *kanun*, of Süleyman, which helped to earn him his Turkish title, *kanun-i*, 'law-giver'. Bon's emphasis on Ahmet's adherence to the rules established by his ancestor illustrates the remarkable continuity of a palace system perfected, down to the smallest details, by Süleyman. That system presented an image of Turkish power long familiar to readers of English, as is clearly shown by Richard Grafton's *The Order of the Great Turcke's Court* (1524), a translation from

the French of Antoine Geuffroy.[26] Like Bon, Geuffroy lays considerable stress on the power of the Queen Sultana, noting that:

> Yf it chaunce that anye of [the harem women] please the greate Turcke, he useth that woman as hys wyfe and geveth her at everye tyme X. thousande Aspres: and separateth her from the other, augmentyng her wages and estate. (C4 r)

This emphasis on the financial rather than the erotic is characteristic of a writer whose interest in administration is even more single-minded than Bon's. Geuffroy's sober account of the Ottoman court shows how, from the earliest appearance of printed texts about the Turks, the availability of foreign diplomatic accounts in translation was introducing hard data about the systematic organisation of Turkish power, modifying and finessing a body of less nuanced traditional lore.

The final text to be considered, Edward Grimestone's *The History of the Imperiall Estate of the Grand Seigneurs* (London, 1635) is, like Grafton's *Order*, a translation from French, though in this case, it is uncertain whether the author visited Turkey.[27] Compared to the works already discussed, this is an expansive treatment, running to one hundred and ninety octavo pages. This text was clearly intended as part of a weighty and significant contribution to the existing literature: Baudier informs us that *The History of the Imperiall Estate* owes its character to its status as a supplement to a long historical work on the Turks, also from his own pen, that must have been very lengthy.[28] Baudier had also authored a large work on China, which Grimestone translated, and printed alongside *The History of the Imperiall Estate* as *The History of the Court of the King of China*. The intention on Baudier's part, to which Grimestone was faithful, must have been to invite comparison between two great Asian imperial monarchies, again suggesting an ambitious historiographic project that distinguishes his work from the more practical accounts of Bon and Grafton.[29]

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[26] *Estat de la court du grant Turc* (1542), see Clarence Dana Rouillard, *The Turk in French History, Though, and Literature, 1520-1660* [no trans. on title page] (Paris: Boivin and Co., 1940), pp. 187-8. Grafton's translation was reprinted by Hakluyt.

[27] Rouillard, pp. 50 ff. Baudier wrote two works on Turkish themes: the *Histoire générale du sérail et de la cour de l'empereur des Turcs* (Paris, 1626) and the *Histoire generale de la religion des Turcs* (Paris, 1625). Elements of *The Imperiall Estate* are strongly reminiscent of diplomatic accounts, see for example the account of an entertainment in the form of a mock sea-battle between Christians and Turks, N 3 v; Rouillard however reaches no conclusion as to whether Baudier is drawing on his own or others' eye-witness experience of the Seraglio.

[28] I 4 r. This citation refers the reader to a passage in the Seventeenth Book; the work has not come to light.

[29] Grimestone clearly had a strong interest in the orient: As well as translating Baudier's books on Turkey and China, he also edited the 1621 continuation of Richard Knolles's *Generall Historie of the Turkes*.

Baudier's lofty intentions are reflected in a spacious and ornate narrative style, and in a frequent tendency towards sententiousness, with moralising comment occasioned by the description of a particular place or practice of the palace occasioning a Latin quotation (Grimestone relegates the Latin to the margin). Part of Baudier's strategy is to highlight the symbolics of space at the Ottoman Court by exploiting the reader's knowledge that access to the palace is strictly controlled. Baudier then proposes, like a tour guide, to sweep the reader through to the forbidden places, by-passing all controls, to reveal the secrets of this densely meaningful space:

> I hope you will give it acceptance and countenance it for your own, where you may at your best leisure (without any labour, travell, or expences) enter into the great Turk's Seraglio or Court, and there take a survey of the life, lusts, revenues, power, government, and tyranny of the great Ottoman. (A3 v)

Underlying this technique is a sense of the power of the Turks as bound up with the control of proximity that is entirely in line with the more straight-forward analysis of the spatialisation of power at the Seraglio in Bon and Grafton. Baudier realises this sense of the menace and majesty of the Grand Signior's person in an arresting metaphor that once again serves to highlight the privilege his text will afford the reader:

> The wisest among Man advise us to goe unto Kings as unto the fire, neither too neere nor too farre off: It burnes when wee approach indiscreetly, and doth not warme him what stands farre off [...]. The true examples which Histories supply, have confirmed the excellency of this counsell: yet a desire of the publique good hath enforced me to violate this respect, and my vowes to serve it carries mee into the danger there is in gazing too neere upon Kings. I approach unto the proudest of all other Princes, and the most severe of Men, yea so neere as I dive into his secrets, visit his person, discover his most hidden affections, and relate his most particular loves. (B 1 v)

Baudier's sense of danger in this passage is tellingly poised between fear of being consumed by the sultan's majesty and fear of being apprehended by him in an act of prurience. A similar tension surfaces where Baudier, having surveyed relevant places in Constantinople, conducts the reader in imagination through the first gate of the Seraglio:

> Seeing we are come neere unto the Imperiall Palace, which is the Serrail, let us strive to enter, although the Gates be carefully garded, and let us see the rare beauties of this famous place. (D1 v)

'Beauties' is here an ambivalent term, referring at once to aesthetic features of the palace as a whole, features that have a political dimension because they are recognised as being intended to impress, and the human 'beauties' of the Harem with their promise of (for the reader, as for Baudier himself) vicarious erotic pleasure.

Baudier's illicit journey into the Seraglio has as its goals at once the political heart of a mighty empire, and the 'hidden affections' and 'most particular loves' of the emperor. In this dual purpose, he is in fact poised between what I have described as the early modern norm in which Seraglio description is basically political in emphasis, and the later form, in which the gaze is erotic rather than political. The advertisement on the second title page of Grimestone's translation makes this ambivalence explicit:

> A History of the Serrail, and of the government of the Grand Seigneur, Emperour of the Turkes. Wherein is seene the Image of the Othoman Greatnesse, A Table of humane passions, and the Examples of the inconstant prosperities of the court.

Baudier's range of themes is very similar to Bon's – the listing of officers, with their pay and duties, the description of various parts of the palace, and elements, such as the slave system, that help to explain the functioning of the Turkish state institution as a whole. Where Baudier differs from Bon and Geuffroy however is in the nature of his interest in sexuality. Where Bon had included details of the organisation of the Harem and page school as a way of stressing the effectiveness and harsh discipline of a total system of central control over the lives of male and female slaves, and the adherence of all to traditional codes governing every aspect of their conduct, and especially sexuality, Baudier presents the institution as characterised by the utmost luxury and pleasure. In a direct echo of Bon, he describes the Harem as 'like unto a great monasterie of Religious Women', adding, 'but they doe not observe the Vow of Chastitie' (D2 v).

The licence of the palace is evinced most clearly for Baudier by a general prevalence of both male and female homosexuality. Ahmet I, going out in procession, is attended by 'a great number of younger Pages, too beautifull to be chaste in a turkish

Serrail, chosen among the Children of the Tribute, and vowed to the filthy and unnatural loves of the Prince (P2 v). The pashas too are greatly addicted to these 'unnatural loves' (Y1 r), as are their wives (Y3 v). As regards what are presumably the 'natural' loves of the sultan, the contrast between Bon and Baudier could not be sharper. Matter-of-fact description in the former becomes salacious in the latter, who accounts for what he describes as the sultan's vulnerability to the attractiveness of the women in terms of a quasi-Petrarchan on the power of love:

> Among all the passions which rule the affections of Princes, Love (as the most powerfull) triumphes more over great men, then all the rest together, for they obteine no victories, but to increase its glory. (H1 r)

Entering the Harem, the sultan,

> Causeth [the women] to dance in a round, in a goodly Hall, where he doth assist and place himselfe in the midst, like unto a Butterflie in the midst of many glittering fires, where by the eyes of some one of them, which pleaseth him best, he casts her his handkercher, for a signe that he is vanquished: she receives it with great deomnstrations of humilitie, kisses it and layes it on her head, presently the Cheachadun or Mother of the Maids, takes this faire slave, which to triumph over her Masters libertie, she leads her into a Chamber appointed for the sports of love. (H2 r)

The amorous conquests of the sultan as described by Baudier have a material component as well as the affective one, for the passage goes on to describe the financial reward that follows for the individual Harem woman, 'measured according to the pleasure which hee received that night', and the increments attendant upon any repetition of his royal favour. 'Thus', says Baudier, 'the Turkish Princes purchase the losse of their libertie with the Treasure of their Cofers: to verifie in their affection the effects of this veritie, that love is to Lovers a pleasing wound, a sweet bitternesse, a favourite poyson, a disease which consumes them, a punishment which they imbrace, and a death which they hunt after' (H2 v).

While the conceit must strike the modern reader as a preposterous one, it is clearly grounded in a paradox shared by all western observers of the Ottoman court, namely that the women of the Turkish court had considerable material power and

political influence, which they used to the detriment of their husbands. Baudier is irresistibly drawn back to Roxolana by way of illustration of this point. Noting the power of love to overcome the most powerful rulers, Baudier echoes Busbecq in reminding readers of the parallel between the two married sultans, Süleyman and Beyazit I (Marlowe's Bajazeth), both of whom breached Turkish custom by marrying. Noting the urgings to the contrary of Süleyman's counsellors, Baudier notes how Süleyman made Roxolana 'Companion of his Scepter, and gave her so great authority in his House, as shee chased away the Children of another Woman which were elder to hers, and armed the Fathers hand against them to ruine' (H 3 v). Baudier thus reinforces the notion of the Seraglio as a space for the playing out of murderous intra-familial dynastic contests that arise through the paradoxical power of enclosed women, a theme explored in depth in Fulke Greville's *Mustapha*, to which we now turn.

Chapter Five

Horrible Actes: Kinship and Power in Fulke Greville's *Mustapha*

That Greville's dramas are difficult is a critical commonplace. Charles Lamb, writing in the first decade of the nineteenth century, called them 'inextricable, inscrutable [...] apocalyptical, cabalistical', while Alexander Witherspoon in the second decade of the twentieth referred to them as 'probably the most obscure and abstruse [...] in the language'.[1] Ivor Morris's 1961 verdict balances praise against blame: Greville is at once 'the most Elizabethan of all the Elizabethans' because of his 'ranging spirit of metaphysical enquiry' but 'the worst dramatist of them all'.[2] More recently, David Norbrook finds Greville's verse, in which we must include that of the dramas, 'so compressed that the sense is often obscure'; 'it is', he continues, 'as though Greville is half-reluctant to communicate his meaning to the reader'.[3]

For Lamb and Morris, the problem lay in part, not in the works themselves, but in the form of *Mustapha* and *Alaham*, that of the quasi-Senecan drama for reading or 'closet drama' which they judged to be static by comparison with contemporary plays for acting, disregarding Greville's clear statement that he had made them 'no Plaies for the Stage'.[4] The generation of critics represented by Norbrook has proved far more responsive to the intricacies of this form, and in the wake of New Historicism's reassertion of the mutual implication of politics and aesthetic production, closet drama has appeared at the centre of debates both about gender and politics in early modern culture.[5] Drawing on Greville's wide learning and internationalist outlook, critics such as Norbrook, Albert Tricomi and Jonathan Dollimore have tended to see *Mustapha* and *Alaham* as texts in which the intricacies of style serve a radical critique that is inseparable from the texts' restricted circulation to a narrow circle of the like-minded.

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[1] Charles Lamb, cited in Hugh N. MacLean, 'Greville's Poetic', *SP*, 61 (1964), 170-191, p. 170; Alexander MacLaren Witherspoon, *The Influence of Robert Garnier on Elizabethan Drama* (Yale, CT: Yale University Press, 1924), p. 125.

[2] Ivor Morris, 'The Tragic Vision of Fulke Greville', *ShS*, 14 (1961), 66-75, p. 66.

[3] David Norbrook, *Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance* (Revised edition, New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 152.

[4] Fulke Greville, *Life of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. by Nowell Smith (Oxford: Clarendon, 1907), p. 224.

[5] For investigations of gender, authorship and patronage in relation to closet drama, see M. E. Lamb, 'The Myth of the Countess of Pembroke: The Dramatic Circle', *YES*, 11 (1981), 194-202, and Mary Sidney, *The Collected Works* ed. by Margaret P. Hannay, Noel J. Kinnamon and Michael G. Brennan (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998). Marta Straznicky, 'Recent Studies in Closet Drama', *ELR*, 28 (1998), 142-60, gives an overview of the critical literature. See below for political readings of Greville's dramas.

Norbrook characterises Greville's style as one of purposive difficulty, of 'ellipses [...] abrupt transitions [and] sudden curtailments of dangerous lines of thought'.[6] He bases his reading of Greville's dramas on an analogy between Greville's political thought and Etienne de la Boétie's *Discours de la Servitude Volontaire*, a central text for the radical French circle with which Mary Sidney and her clients were connected. Boétie's position as characterised by Norbrook is one of extreme scepticism with regard to the hierarchical mediation of social power: exposure of the mystique of kingship, and of the 'psychology of dependence' (p. 144) inculcated by royal Courts, serve to justify popular revolt against tyranny. Accordingly, for Norbrook, the central purpose in Greville's dramas was to expose the techniques by which rulers enforce the subjection of the people in 'plays which toyed with the idea of rebellion against tyrants even though they eventually rejected it' (p. 150).

In an analogous reading, Albert Tricomi turns, not to French political theory, but to *Philotas*, a closet drama by another writer associated with Mary Sidney, Samuel Daniel. Tricomi characterises the final acts of Daniel's play, completed as the events surrounding the dramatic fall of the first Earl of Essex were unfolding, as depicting 'the corruption of bureaucratic government, which observes the forms but not the substance of liberty'.[7] This 'nightmarish picture of the repressive state' (p. 65) cost Daniel dearly as, arraigned before Cecil, he was forced to withdraw his seditious play. Noting Greville's claim in the *Life of Sir Philip Sidney* that he destroyed his own *Antony and Cleopatra* at the time of the Essex rebellion, on the advice of friends who thought it likely to implicate him as *Philotas* had Daniel, Tricomi concludes that Greville preserved *Mustapha* rather than *Antony* because the former's remote locale and an inscrutable style afforded an effective shield from political danger:

> Greville shaped the political materials of *Mustapha* into a haunting philosophic dramatisation of man's benighted political life, which in turn reflects his benighted spiritual estate. Broader in scope and more general in application that *Philotas*, *Mustapha* is the more profound indictment of Jacobean political life. (p. 67)

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[6] Norbrook, p. 152.

[7] Albert H. Tricomi, *Anticourt Drama in England, 1603-42* (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1989), p. 64. Subsequent references are in the text.

Greville's tactic had its disadvantages however, for, Tricomi continues, 'the strange subject matter [...] accounts in great measure for the play's obscurity'.

While not disputing the breadth of Greville's thought in *Mustapha*, or denying its pertinence as an intervention in English politics, there is a glaring omission in these critics' discussions which I will address in the reading of the play that follows, namely Greville's presentation of Turkish history. Norbrook's and Tricomi's lack of interest in cultural geography is characteristic of Greville's recent critics generally, who have proved no more sensitive to this aspect of *Mustapha* than an early twentieth century critic who presents Greville's choice of settings in the 'far off Orient' as no more than an 'oriental masque'.[8] To cite only a handful of examples, Ronald A. Rebholz in the standard critical biography of Greville limits the significance of the Court of Süleyman the Magnificent in *Mustapha* to its 'striking parallels to the English court of the 1590s', while Jonathan Dollimore presents the basis of the play as a non-localized 'idealist mimesis which [...] constitutes a reaction formation to doubt, anxiety and emergent scepticism'.[9] The writer of a recent doctoral dissertation is still more dismissive: 'These plays have nothing to do with history. They are fantasies in which the physical displacement of scene allows a free play of imagination'.[10]

In drawing attention to the 'broad scope' of Greville's thought in the passage cited above, Tricomi implies that *Mustapha* is transposed from England to Turkey to allow for the oblique expression of political positions that would be dangerous if expressed directly. Tricomi stresses the 'impression of comprehensiveness and vastness' (p. 67) generated by the language of *Mustapha*, noting that, 'the small stage of Solyman's tyrant fears is set against a cosmic array of "Power", "Thrones" and "Kingdoms"' (pp. 67-68). The idea of Süleyman's as a 'small stage' does not seem to me to be one that would naturally suggest itself to an early modern writer like Greville. Equally, the abundant geographical images listed by Tricomi as characteristic of *Mustapha*, 'sea, sun sky, wind, storm, night, shadow, and valley' (p. 67), suggest a directly geographical significance, evoking the power and vast extent of the mighty land

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[8] E. P. Kuhl, 'Contemporary Politics in Elizabethan Drama: Fulke Greville', *PQ*, 7 (1928), 299-302, p. 301

[9] Ronald A. Rebholz, *The Life of Fulke Greville, First Lord Brooke* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971), p. 102; Jonathan Dollimore, *Radical Tragedy: Religion, Ideology and Power in the Drama of Shakespeare and his Contemporaries* (Second Edition, Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1989), p. 120.

[10] Julia Giordano, 'Fulke Greville: Homoerotics, Politics, and Silence', unpublished doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1994, p. 190.

empire which marked Europe's south-eastern termination. It is hard to believe that a polyglot writer like Greville, and one with his strong internationalist commitments in religion and politics, could have engaged with historiography about the Turks merely to provide a screen for the projection of domestic concerns, and yet Tricomi devotes half a chapter to Mustapha without so much as mentioning the Ottoman Empire.[11] That Greville chose for his subject an incident that had occurred almost within his own lifetime, and at the very centre of Turkish power, the Great Seraglio at Constantinople, lends further support to the idea that one of his principal engagements is with historiography about the Turks. The absence of scenic detail in *Mustapha* has perhaps made this engagement easy to overlook, but the play's principal preoccupations, the embedding of the sultan's power within the stifling palace system, the bogus theocratic claims on which it was based, the instability of a succession that rested on intra-familial murder, and the paradoxical enslavement of a secluded ruler to a ruthless and ambitious woman within his own household, are all characteristic of contemporaneous western histories of the Turks.

A complicating factor in Greville studies, and one that has a strong bearing on the neglect of Greville's orient, is the problem of the texts and their dating. In his standard edition of Greville, Bullough lists four principal texts of *Mustapha*, a manuscript held at Trinity College, Cambridge (C), the Quarto printed by Nathaniel Butter in 1611 (Q), the manuscript in the Greville papers at Warwick Castle (W) and a further printed version included in the posthumous Folio edition of Greville printed in 1633 under the title *Certaine Learned and Elegant Workes*.[12] Hard data are difficult to establish, but Bullough divides these texts into an early and a late group, the early consisting of C and Q and the late of W and F. Q is a faulty and incomplete text, almost certainly pirated by Butter. C could be either the origin of Q, via an intermediary revision by Greville, or a later re-working of a prior text that Q also reflects. Bullough concludes in favour of the latter view. W and F represent a considerably more advanced

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[11] Perhaps thinking of Greville's other closet drama, *Alaham*, Tricomi refers to Persia three times in the course of his discussion of *Mustapha*, pp. 68, 71. This is a significant oversight in what is otherwise a thoughtful and nuanced account.

[12] Fulke Greville, *Poems and Dramas of Fulke Greville, First Lord Brooke*, ed. by Geoffrey Bullough (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1939), 2 vols., Vol. 2, pp. 25-32. Subsequent references to *Mustapha* are to this edition, and are in the text. For an illuminating account of the re-discovered Warwick MSS., see W. Hilton Kelliher, 'The Warwick Manuscripts of Fulke Greville', *The British Museum Quarterly*, 34 (1970), 107-121. For Butter, see Leona Rostenburg, 'Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne, First "Masters of the Staple"' *The Library*, 5th Series, Vol. 12 (1957), 23-33.

stage of composition than C/Q, and are fairly close to one another. An additional text, that held at the Folger Shakespeare Library is discussed by Joan Rees, who sees it as a variant of C.[13] Apart from the printed editions, neither of which can claim authorial sanction, it is extremely hard to deduce a chronological genesis of *Mustapha* from the texts.[14] The surviving copies show that Greville continued developing his works over a very long period: in the case of *Mustapha*, this could quite conceivably have been as long as forty years. The texts we have reflect various intermediary stages in a process that involved deletions and alterations to successive scribal fair copies. They are however insufficient to provide a satisfactory continuum of versions of *Mustapha*, and Bullough surmises that there may have been a series of copies between C/Q and the substantially different W/F.

Norbrook and Dollimore both follow Bullough in dating the original composition of *Mustapha* to 1594-6. Both however are interested chiefly in Greville's critique of the Jacobean court, and neither gives consideration to the text's Elizabethan origins. The texts, none of which is likely to date from much before the end of the 1600s, are of little help in tracing the motivation that lay behind Greville's first work on *Mustapha*, but we do have a valuable external source in Greville's *Life of Sir Philip Sidney*, which is unambiguous in suggesting a date significantly earlier for Greville's first work on *Mustapha*. This date, together with the political context it provides, offers a significant insight into the nature of Greville's interest in Turkey.

Greville states in the *Life* that his literary 'toyes', long poems and dramas, were works in which 'apprehensive youth did easily wander beyond proportion'; he has 'found fault in declining years', and revised accordingly.[15] Using an image that confirms the account the texts themselves suggest, Greville defends his protracted labour on his dramas by likening himself to 'an old and fond parent [who will] take pains rather to cover the dandled deformities of the creatures with a coat of many seames, than carelesly to drive them away' (p. 152). Bullough's dating entirely disregards these indications, and in doing so extends Greville's 'fond youth' into his forties. More importantly, he ignores the way the *Life*, in clearly associating the dramas with years

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[13] Joan Rees, *Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, 1554-1628: A Critical Biography* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971), p. 143.
[14] See for example G. A. Wilkes, 'The Sequence of the Writings of Fulke Greville, Lord Broke', *SP*, 56 (1959), 489-503.
[15] Greville, *Life*, pp. 145, 150-1. Subsequent references are in the text.

leading up to the death of Sidney in 1586, suggests a context in the international interests the two men shared at that period, interests which may serve to shed some light on why he was drawn to a Turkish theme.[16]

One of the main purposes of the *Life*, which Greville composed as a dedication to Sidney of his own literary works, is to show the relationship between those works and Sidney's analysis of the international situation in the 1570s and 1580s.[17] The eight references to Turkey in the *Life* suggest that Turkey was crucial to Sidney's outlook at this period. All the references bear on the balance between the Turkish and Hapsburg threats to Protestantism, a balance which in Sidney's view inclines greatly towards Spain. 'The Grand Signior, asleep in his Seraglia, as having turned the ambition of that growing monarchy into idle lust; corrupted his Martiall discipline; prophaned his Alcoran in making war against his own church' (p. 86).[18] Rather than fear the 'grand signior, who easily moves not his encompassing half Moon', it is Philip II, 'this Solyman of Spain' (p. 102), who constitutes the chief danger. With this in mind, says Greville, Sidney advocated an international anti-Spanish coalition involving both the Catholic French and Venetians, and the Turks.

In minimising the threat of Turkey to emphasise that of Spain, the *Life* does no more than reflect the policy actually pursued by Walsingham in England's earliest diplomatic contacts with the Ottoman Empire in the 1580s, whose aim was to forestall the Armada by preventing the renewal of Murat III's Hispano-Ottoman truce and thus forcing Spain into a war on two fronts.[19] The rhetoric employed in the *Life* suggests parameters for the presentation of Turkish power in the play: In calling Philip II a 'Spanish Solyman', Greville implies that the vigour once associated with the Ottoman Empire is now to be found elsewhere. Murat III, 'asleep in his Seraglia', has presided

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[16] Matthew Steggle, 'Fulke Greville: Life and Works', *Sidney Journal*, 19 (2001), 1-10, p. 3 notes that Greville travelled widely in Europe in the 1570s; the contacts he formed in Court and intellectual circles at this period certainly involved him in discussions bearing on the Turkish question: Bullough, Vol. 1, pp. 1-3, gives five Turkey citations from Sidney's correspondence with Huguenot political theorist Hubert Languet.

[17] See Fulke Greville, *The Prose Works*, ed. by John Gouws (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985), Introduction, xvii, where Gouws notes that Greville's desire to relate his literary out-put to Sidney's career 'influences almost every aspect of the work'.

[18] Greville is here referring to Murat III's war with Persia, 1579-90. See Stanford J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976-7), 2 vols., Vol. 1, pp. 182-183.

[19] The progress of this discussion is charted by Sir Edwin Pears, 'The Spanish Armada and the Ottoman Porte', *HER*, 8 (1893), 439-460. A direct interest in diplomatic contact between Turkey and Christian nations is signalled in *Mustapha* in Chorus 1, 135-47, where the 'Basha's or Caddies' explain the maintenance of such contacts from the Turkish point of view.

over a decline that has precipitated the present international crisis. Greville's *Mustapha* reflects the same sense of Ottoman decline, tracing it to Süleyman's seclusion within the Seraglio, his uxoriousness, and the weakness of vertical familial bonds within the Turkish ruling House. In line with his own concerns, he adds to this an analysis of the weakening of both religion and the state where these two are too closely bound together within a system of theocratic rule. What Dollimore sees as an essentially philosophical interest in 'declination' on Greville's part, thus emerges in the context suggested by the *Life of Sir Philip Sidney* as a concrete and historically specific analysis of Ottoman power.[20]

There is then good reason for following Rees's and Wilkes's dating of Greville's plays to the 1580s,[21] though I interpret the *Life* to imply an earlier date than either admits, namely that Greville's interest in Turkey arose from the Protestant internationalism fostered by his friendship with Sidney, and that the composition of the oriental plays arose from the period of his and Sidney's exclusion from office prior to the latter's death in 1586. Bullough's principal reason for adopting the late date of 1594-6 however, the relationship between Greville's works and others of the 'Wilton' circle, should not be discarded, as it too has a bearing on the particular form Greville gave to his political analysis in *Mustapha*.[22] Dating *Mustapha* to the 1580s has the consequence of placing Greville's first essays in closet drama earlier than those by other Wilton writers, which critics have tended to see as resulting from an impetus generated by Mary Sidney's translation of Garnier's *Marc Antoine* (1592). The form may have in fact represented a natural one for the expression of Greville's ideas, given the huge prestige it enjoyed in France, where it had been used as a political tool by Protestants during the wars of religion, and by Buchanan, Beza and others.[23] The uniqueness of Greville's undertaking in the genre shows that his motives are in fact quite distinct from those

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[20] Dollimore, pp. 120-123.
[21] Rees, p. 142; Wilkes, p. 491.
[22] The classic account of this manifestation of English Senecanism is William Alexander, *The Poetical Works*, ed. by L. E. Kastner and H. B. Charlton (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, n. s. 11, 1921), Introduction (hereafter cited as 'Kastner and Charlton'). See also Mary Sidney, *Collected Works*, ed. Hannay, Kinnamon and Brennan, Introduction (hereafter 'Hannay et al.). Lamb, pp. 195-196, attempts to discredit the idea of a Wilton circle, claiming that there is insufficient evidence linking either Sir William Alexander or Kyd to Mary Sidney. Alexander's involvement is in fact flagged by Kyd in the Dedication to *Philotas*, see Samuel Daniel, *The Tragedy of Philotas* ed. by Laurence Michel (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1949), p. 98. Kyd is harder to place in relation to Sidney, but it cannot be coincidental that both writers should produce translations of Garnier, an obscure writer in England, within two years of each other. Michel, p. 12, surmises that Kyd's association with Wilton may have been short lived.
[23] Hannay et al., p. 141, record that over two hundred closet dramas were written in France before 1640. For the form as a vehicle for Protestant dissent, see Kastner and Charlton, Introduction, cviii, cxxxvi.

revealed in the other Wilton plays, for none save the two by Greville takes a modern and oriental theme rather than a classical one. The contemporaneity of Greville's undertaking is striking when we reflect that the murder of Mustapha had taken place in 1553, only a year before his and Sidney's births. Greville may have been influenced politically by French radical appropriations of closet drama, and his work had a precursor in Bounin's *La Soltane* (1561), a rare example of a French closet drama on a modern, oriental theme; his discursive chorus is also of the French type.

Where *Mustapha* does intersect with the Wilton group is in the way the play dialogues with Kyd's play on Süleyman, *Soliman and Perseda*.[24] Kyd's Senecanism is far removed from Greville's, but there is a noteworthy parallel in the expression Kyd gives to the reflective and private aspect of Süleyman, and in his emphasis on the sultan's inordinate love of a woman, a feature we have noted as characteristic of the depiction of oriental tyrants in both *Tamburlaine* and the literature about the Seraglio.[25] The idea of the Wilton circle producing dramas for reading in protest at the excesses of the popular stage, has rightly been questioned.[26] Careful reading of *Mustapha* however, and comparison with *Soliman and Perseda*, suggest that anti-theatricality is indeed an element in Greville's purpose, albeit one whose resonances are more to do with political than with theatrical reform, amounting to a critique extending way beyond the stage to the performance of kingship itself, most absolutely embodied by the Ottoman sultan.

Mustapha reflects in various places on the dangerous power of plays, playing and stages. Typical of these is Rossa's warning to Soliman in Act 1:

> Your grave prepared is among your owne:
> Neighbours, Church, People, Souldiers, made the Stage,
> Where Hope, and Youth shall ruine Feare, and Age.
> (ll. 249-251)[27]

Greville's anti-theatricality recalls here Norbrook's account of Boétie's attack on the repressive use of social performance by tyrannies:

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[24] Thomas Kyd, *The Works of Thomas Kyd* ed. by Frederick S. Boas (Oxford: Clarendon, 1901). On the possible link between Kyd's and Greville's Turkish plays, see Matthew C. Hansen, 'Gender, Power and Play: Fulke Greville's Mustapha and Alaham', *Sidney Journal*, 19 (2001), 125-191, pp. 127-8.
[25] See also the anonymous *Selimus*, printed in Daniel J. Vitkus, ed., *Three Turk Plays from Early Modern England* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000). Vitkus, p. 17, repeats Grosart's attribution of the play to Greene; there is no strong evidence for this. M. P. MacDiarmid, 'The Influence of Robert Garnier on some Elizabethan Tragedies, *Etudes Anglaises*, 11 (1958), 289-302, pp. 296-9, traces links both *Soliman and Perseda* and *Selimus* to Garnier.
[26] Lamb, p. 198.
[27] See also 2.1.62, 2.2.26.

> La Boétie lists the many different ways in which tyrants make the people lose their natural desire for liberty and become corrupt and effeminate. Courtly ceremonial, stage-plays, religious rituals, myths of divine monarchy and divine healing: All these dazzling displays act as a kind of drug, they appeal to the imagination rather than the reason and are difficult to resist.[28]

Norbrook goes on to trace Greville's refusal of the public stage to a fear that making an audience privy to the sceptical ruminations of counsellors will tend towards provoking rebellion (p. 151). Greville was probably familiar with some of the large body of literature devoted to the aestheticisation of power within the Turkish system of rule.[29] We may well conclude Greville fears the reverse of Norbrook's dangerous demystification of power, namely that by exhibiting kings deemed the most absolutely tyrannical, in all the pomp of public ceremony, western writers would risk enhancing the glamour of illegitimate power. By including anti-theatrical reference in *Mustapha*, he is perhaps castigating the vogue in the public theatre for sensational and spectacular oriental plays like *Solyman and Perseda*, *Selimus* and *Tamburlaine*, that do precisely this.

The ultimate source for *Mustapha* is a pamphlet by the Burgundian writer Moffan, *Soltani Solymanni Turcarum Imperatoris horrendum facinus* ('The horrible crime of Sultan Süleyman, Emperor of the Turks'), which he may have known through an additional Latin version by Lonicerus, two translations into German, the French of de Thou, or the English of T[homas] Goughe.[30] The latter was printed under the title 'The Horrible acte and wicked offence of Soltan Soliman Emperour of the Turkes, in murtheringe his eldest sonne Mustapha, the yeare of our Lorde, 1553' as a supplement

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[28] Norbrook, p. 144.

[29] As noted above, the dissemination of the foreign diplomatic accounts not printed in English remains uncertain. Greville's travels prior to 1584 were largely diplomatic in nature however; the prominence of Turkey in English foreign policy, Bullough's citations from the Sidney-Languet letters, and the references in the *Life* cited above all suggest a strong interest in Turkish affairs. He had also travelled extensively in Italy, source of the greatest concentration of texts about the Turks.

[30] To this list, we might add Richard Knolles's *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* (1603); Bullough dismisses this source peremptorily on the basis of the late date of its publication. Knolles's masterpiece however underwent a gestation almost as prolonged as that of Greville's own works: See Chapter Three for Hugh G. Dick's view that interested readers could have had access to Knolles's laborious intermediate drafts two decades or more before the *Generall Historie* was printed.

to the same translator's rendering of Georgiewitz's *De Turcarum Moribus* ('Concerning the Customs of the Turks').[31]

Moffan's narration of a notorious incident from recent Turkish history centres on the depravity and ambition of Rosa (Greville's Rossa, Roxalana), who in her search for personal power so enchanted Solyman that he was 'ravyshed above measure with [her] bewtie'.[32] Manipulating the sultan's tender heart, she 'lerned every day more then an other, to be sadde, sorrowfull, and disquieted in her minde' (I7 r), until Solyman was 'baited, and as it were drowned, passinge all moderation, in an unbridled desyre and lust' (I7 r-v). Thus ensnared, Solyman proposes to break with custom, and contract a lawful marriage with Rosa (the narrator notes that, 'to avoyde equalitie in the Empire, they never marye anye honest and lawfull wives', I8 r). Prompted by her ambition to secure the succession for her own son, Rosa schemes to oust Solyman's elder son by another woman, conniving with Rustanus (Greville's 'Rosten', Rüstem pasha) to deceive Solyman into thinking that Mustapha is in league with the Persians (K6 r). As events come to their head, Mustapha is called to Court. Aware of the danger he is in, Mustapha nevertheless places obedience to his father and to fate above his own safety, and is strangled by mutes within the palace, while his father, 'that beastlye and unnaturall manquellor [...] from another side of the tente beheld that lamentable sight' (L5 r). The people react angrily to the death of Mustapha, who had been, 'for his warrelyke prowes, and prompt minde to shedde christian bloud, so favored of all menne, that they maye thynke never anye to have sprongen out of the linage of Ottomano' (M2 v). Insurrection is averted, but Moffan concludes in sermonising vein that 'we ought therfore to rejoice with eche other, for the deathe of so fearce, cruell and deadly an enemye, and thinke, that it came not to passe, without the providence of God' (M3 r).

Moffan is consistent in stressing the importance of legitimate lineage in his presentation of the story. Rosa is seen as a 'wicked steppe mother' in relation to Mustapha (K5 r), and Rustanus's evil is related to his status as a son-in-law to Solyman, and not a blood relative. Furthermore, Rosa invokes the unsanctity of the blood line

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[31] A reference to Georgiewitz's book in Daniel's *Defence of Rhyme* shows that Daniel at least knew this work; if it was in Goughe's English version that he had read it, see Bullough, Vol. 2, p. 19. Greville may well have known Georgiewitz's text, particularly if, as Bullough concludes, he used Goughe's translation of Moffan while working on *Mustapha*.

[32] Hugh Goughe, *Ofspring of the House of Ottomano* [...] *Whereunto is added Bartholomeus Georgieviz Epitome, of the Customes, Rytes, Ceremonies, and Religion of the Turkes* (1569), I5 v. Subsequent references are in the text.

itself within the Ottoman dynasty, urging as justification for the planned murder of Mustapha, the act of patricide which brought Solyman's father Selim to the throne (K3 v). Solyman, by contrast, appears strangely passive, 'staggering and full of doubtes', in the midst of these schemes (K5 v). Given the highly distilled nature of the versions of *Mustapha* that survive, and their protracted gestation, the fidelity with which Greville maintains the centrality of Moffan's themes is remarkable, and suggests that his purpose included an engagement with the defining features of Turkish rule as established by historiographic tradition. Greville aims at more than a commentary on the state of Turkey in his own era however, and his highly refracted image of the Turkish court resists any attempt to account for it as straightforwardly representational. Behind this rarefied and elusive drama, there is nevertheless a body of consistent and fully realised analysis of the nature of Turkish power.

Where Moffan takes the reader through the whole career of Mustapha, Greville opens his drama *in medias res* at the crisis of the story. In the opening scene of the play, Soliman, already in doubt about Mustapha's loyalty, reflects upon what he perceives as the tension between the duties of a king and those of a parent:

> But is contempt the fruit of Parents care?
> Doth kindness lessen Kings authority,
> Teaching our Children pride, our Vassals wit,
> To subject us, that subject are to it? (1.1.11-14)

Solyman's meditation on the pride of children and wit of vassals establishes a tone that is characteristic of Greville's analysis of Turkish power throughout the play, one in which the most absolute system of rule is seen to produce rulers paradoxically vulnerable to deception by their intimates. Rossa, aware of the necessity of acknowledging the claims of 'kindness' even as she seeks to undermine them, begins by feigning reluctance to come between father and son, king and heir, but then reveals to her husband that Mustapha is in league with the Persians. Soliman reflects on the fragility of his rule in terms that trace it to his isolation from popular contact:

> [...] I take pride in thine affection
> For Power may be fear'd; Empire ador'd;
> Rewards may make knees bow; and selfe-love humble:
> But love is onely that which Princes covet;
> And for they have it least, they most doe love it. (ll. 72-6)

At the conclusion of the scene, Rossa urges prompt action against Mustapha. Soliman, acknowledging the death of Mustapha as inevitable ('Will he returne from death unto the living?', l. 99), forbears to act immediately, partly out of fear for his 'fame', but also to allow time to give proof to Rossa's accusations. Mustapha has been summoned to court, where Soliman will scrutinise his actions for evidence of disloyalty; only then will he act.

1.2 develops Soliman's references in the preceding scene to the calculated humbling of 'selfe love' by subjects, and the dangers of 'witty vassals', by presenting Beglerbie, an ambitious counsellor, in action. In so far as *Mustapha* is really the tragedy of Soliman, that tragedy centres on the inability of a ruler to apply precepts to action: 'Staggering and full of doubts', in Goughe's phrase, Soliman throughout the play shows a private concern for right which is belied by his dealings with counsellors, whom he proves consistently unable to judge correctly. The self-serving Beglerbie embodies scheming amorality of the very sort Soliman had warned against in Scene 1: 'Who by his Prince will rise, his Prince must please' (1.2.10), but is trusted by his master. On the other hand, Achmat, a wise counsellor, is repeatedly ignored or over-ruled because of Rossa's influence over her husband. Attributing to Mustapha his own base motives, Beglerbie colludes with Rossa to bring about his downfall. 1.2 also introduces Rosten, a trusted favourite of whom Soliman has become suspicious, fearing that Rosten is in fact plotting to secure the throne for Mustapha. Rosten will subsequently prove a chief agent of Rossa's designs, proving Soliman's fears well-founded, though misplaced in their detail. This theme of the dishonest counsellor is prominent in each act of the play, and in all the Choruses in some form; while clearly having a wide application in English Court culture, it is here coloured to lend special force to Greville's critique of the Ottoman sultans' withdrawal from public contact.

The dramatic interest of 1.2 centres on the expectation of Mustapha's arrival, occasioning a comparison between Soliman's court at Constantinople and Mustapha's at Amasia, where Mustapha is governor (a detail Greville retains from Moffan). As we noted in Chapter Four, the physical withdrawal of the sultan was a crucial feature of the Ottoman palace system as observed by western writers in the sixteenth century; Greville's emphasis on the dangers of visibility and accessibility reinforces the sense that he is drawing on description rather than imagination in his depiction of the Seraglio:

> What's the discourse of the Court? And what the face?
> His carriage is it royally severe,
> Reserv'd like us, by attributes of place,
> Or popular, as power in people were? (ll. 128-31)

Beglerbie's reply suggests a 'witty' technique of praising Mustapha in terms calculated to fuel Soliman's fears, upholding Mustapha as a dutiful son, while at the same time implying that he desires to undermine his father's rule:

> He windes not spirits up with Power, or Feare:
> The antient forms he keepes, wher it is good:
> His projects reformation every where. (ll. 134-5)

The gullible Soliman is easy prey to Beglerbie's manipulation, and as the exchange continues, broods on the potential threat posed by the military force that Mustapha will bring with him to Constantinople. Beglerbie again manages to unsettle Soliman while ostensibly reassuring him: 'His Court, like yours, the image of a Campe,/In yours, your Power, in his Himselfe the Lampe' (ll. 146-7).[33]

Act 2 introduces characters who represent the positive end of the moral spectrum: Achmat, Soliman's Grand Vizier, and Camena, his daughter by Rossa. Achmat, who dominates Act 2, is an intimate of the sultan, with the privilege of criticising him openly and directly, and able to wield significant power in his own right. Essentially conforming to the Senecan type of the good counsellor trying to pursue a just course within a corrupt system, his speeches stand in stark contrast to the impotent world-weariness of the 'Basha's or Caddies' in the preceding chorus. The opening scene of Act 2 presents Achmat *solus*, dwelling on the responsibility that attends his privileged position as an intimate of the sultan, and the dilemma in which this places him. Achmat provides an objective summary of the state of affairs within the ruling house that the first act revealed through dialogue between the characters. Achmat presents Rossa as a malevolent figure:

> Princes humors [...]
> [Are] like the Waxe, which first beares but his owne,
> Till it the seale in easy mould receive,
> And by th'impression onely then is knowne.

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[33] Goughe, C5 r ff. This view of the structures of Turkish power as essentially military in character is again in keeping with contemporary descriptive literature. Goughe's translation of Gorgiewitz, for example, lists 'The Officers pertaining to the great Turkes Courte and warres' in a chapter titled 'In what maner the Turks do use to make warres', an arrangement which implies no division of the two functions.

> In this soft weaknesse Rossa prints her art,
> And seekes to tosse the Crowne from hand too hand. (ll. 33-9)

The image of the sultan as mere wax for Rossa to imprint suggests a reversal of gender roles that conforms to the pattern established by other western images of Roxolana, confirming what Norbrook refers to as a 'streak of misogyny' running through Greville's writings.[34]

The vulnerability of Soliman to Rossa's manipulations means that Achmat is particularly vulnerable as he urges a course opposed to her will:

> Unhappy state of ours! Wherein we live,
> Where doubts give lawes, which never can forgive:
> Where rage of Kings not only ruines be,
> But where their very love workes miserie. (ll. 29-32)

Danger notwithstanding, Achmat concludes that his primary duty is to protect the succession; he thus resolves to confront Soliman and attempt to dissuade him from the murder of his heir.

2.2 explores the conflict that this difference in perspective between the sultan and his most trusted counsellor precipitates. Soliman appears here as insatiable in his desire for control. In thunderous terms that recall the famous letters addressed from sultans to European rulers, Soliman warns, 'Behold, the Word layes Homage at my feet,/To them by sword and fire I am knowne' (ll.12-3). How can one so powerful endure a threat from within his own family? Achmat on the other hand pursues a principled and rather democratic advocacy of truth which pays no heed to power as a moral force: 'Truth must the measure be to slave, and King' (l. 126). Soliman resolves to allow paternal feeling to compromise his power no longer, confirming the unnatural disregard for ties of blood that is for western writers the defining feature of Turkish power: 'This Father-language fits not kings' (l. 38). Achmat, on the other hand, interprets 'Nature's lawes, which seldome alter' (l. 94) as dictating that Solyman should

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[34] Norbrook, p. 149. Louis Adrian Montrose cites an example of the metaphor of wax to describe female obedience to male authority from *A Midsummer Night's Dream*: Hermia should be to Egeus, 'one/To whom you are but as a form in wax'/By him imprinted' (1.1.48-50). Montrose comments that 'Theseus represents paternity as a cultural act, an art: the father is a demiurge or *homo faber*, who composes, informs, imprints himself upon, what is merely inchoate matter', '*Shaping Fantasies*: Figurations of Gender and power in Elizabethan Culture', in Stephen Greenblatt, ed., *Representing the English Renaissance* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1988) p. 40.

'Feare false Stepmothers rage, Womans ambition' (l. 97), and place fidelity to his own blood-line above all other considerations.

Achmat's outspoken denunciation of Solyman's intended course reveals his concern to preserve his own power as paranoia:

> Suspitions common to succession be;
> Honor, and Feare together ever goe.
> Who must kill all they feare, feare all they see,
> Nor subjects, Sonnes, not Neighbourhood can beare:
> So infinite the limits be of Feare. (ll. 152-6)

Achmat is driven by a strikingly sceptical attitude to power, a working out of the *dictum* he uttered at the close of the preceding scene: 'Whose heaven is earth, let them beleeve in Princes' (1.1.77). Solyman gives no ground, and the outcome of the debate over the fate of Mustapha is if anything more certain at the close of this scene. It is also clear however from Achmat's brave attempt to spare Mustapha that, even among the Turks, there remains at every moment the chance for reform and right action, and so the possibility for redemption, a redemption that is to be figured in the unmistakably Christ-like death of Mustapha at the climax of the play.

If Achmat represents an ambivalent capacity for good in an unjust society, 2.3 introduces Camena as a type of positive virtue, revealed in her unfailingly loyalty to the claims of blood relationship:

> Let fates goe on: sweet Vertue! Doe not lose me.
> My Mother, and my Husband have conspired,
> For Brothers good, the ruine of my Brother:
> My Father by my Mother is inspired,
> For one childe to seeke ruine of another. (ll. 16-20)

The exchange which follows, while showing Soliman in a more tender light as a feeling and considerate father to Camena, resolves as the previous scene had done upon a conflict between 'Kinde, and Order' (l. 118), in which Soliman seems bent on sacrificing the former to the latter. Camena's view of her mother's actions is less wordly-wise than Achmat's, for though she begs Soliman not to be guided by his wife, she exculpates Rossa on the grounds that she has been deceived by her own fears (ll.133-5, 210-11). Solyman remains implacable, but at the end of the scene signals a willingness to reflect on what he has heard:

> Well: deare Camena! Keepe this secretly:
> I will be well advis'd before he die:
> Come Achmat! To the Church: we will goe pray
> God, to unfold this probablility,
> Where Power, and Wit so much offend him may. (ll. 214-8)

This prepares for the 'Chorus Secundus of Mahometan Priests' which follows, in which the relationship of the religious institution to state is scrutinised.

If Act 2 explores the moral struggles of Achmat and Camena as the drama's good or ambivalent protagonists, Act 3 concentrates on the mounting fury and blood-lust of the conspirators, centring on the impatience of the ambitious Rossa: 'O wearysome Obedience, Wax to Power!' (l. 1). Rosten urges Rossa to restrain her passionate railing against the 'parents dotage' of 'silly natures apt to lovingnesse' (l. 60), reassuring her that 'The lawes of Kinde, with Tyrants, nothing be' (l. 66). He urges Rossa to be moderate in denouncing Mustapha, concealing her rage to let Solyman seem to reach his own conclusion, all the while, working to 'multiply malice in patience' (l. 112). Finally, Rosten warns of Achmat as a potential threat to the conspiracy against Mustapha; in his case, says Rosten, violent rage may be the only sure method of disposing of his influence: 'When Childrens blood the Father forehead staines,/What priviledge for Counsellors remaines? (ll. 138-9).

3.2, an exchange between Rossa, Rosten and Beglerbie, shows the full extent of Rossa's depravity. Learning that Achmat is presently to go before Solyman as advocate for Mustapha, she sends Rosten to intervene, invoking infernal powers to her aid:

> You ugly Angells of th'infernall Kingdomes! [...]
> Let me raigne, while I live, in my desires;
> Or dead, live with you in eternall fires. (ll. 10-14)

Having banished all the claims of kin in favour of her own desire (ll. 26-7), she now turns her attention upon her only daughter, whom Beglerbie reveals to have uncovered the conspiracy to Mustapha (l. 35 ff.). Rossa resolves not to rest before Camena too is silenced:

> Nay, blacke Avernus! So I doe adore thee,
> As I lament my Wombe hath beene so barren,
> To yeeld but one to offer up before thee. (ll. 39-41)

Setting her deeds against a cosmic background, she invokes a standard Renaissance image of destiny: 'I am resolved to move the wheeles of fate' (l. 67).

What scholars have agreed to be the undramatic nature of *Mustapha* is belied by the two final Acts, which replace the spacious, forensic atmosphere of the first three acts with a much more rapid movement as we approach the murder of the prince, an effect achieved in part through a concentration of very short scenes. 4.1 opens with Solyman commanding Achmat to assemble a counsel of pashas. Having examined his conscience, he has concluded that to murder Mustapha in the interests of preserving unity in the state is a religious duty: 'God only is above me, and consulted' (l. 2). The soliloquy which follows shows a deep self-division which only precipitate action can resolve. Though recalling the biblical story of Abraham by talking of his crime as a godly 'sacrifice', Soliman also acknowledges an impossible dilemma in the course before him, 'By that I should, from that I am deprived' (l. 28). Thus confronted with the conflicting obligations of 'kinde, and order', Solyman restates his problem as one of earthly and heavenly demands at odds with one another:

> The Earth drawes one way, and the skie another.
> If God worke thus, Kings must looke upwards still,
> And from these Powers they know not, choose a will.
> Or else beleeve themselves, their strength, occasion;
> Make wisdome conscience; and the world their die:
> So have all Tyrants done; and so must I. (ll. 38-44)

Solyman acknowledges that God has prohibited the murder of his son; at the same time, it is God's will that he avert the threat Mustapha poses to his anointed rule. Faced with such a choice, Solyman presents his resolve to murder his son as embracing that aspect of God's law which favours the preservation of his own power.

The short 4.2 builds up dramatic suspense as Beglerbie reports that he has relayed Solyman's message to Mustapha, informing us with Greville's characteristic indirection that Mustapha is now close at hand in the Court, and leading us to expect an encounter between father and son imminently. At the same time, he reinforces the sense of looming crisis, revealing that, finding a suspicious token given to Mustapha by Camena, Rossa has attacked Camena; Achmat cannot be certain whether the daughter is still living. 4.3 resolves the question, as Rossa confesses her guilt in a speech of sham repentance to Solyman that seems at first merely to confirm her as a wrong-doer of

Senecan enormity recalling Medea, 'the demonic, barbaric, passionate female who seeks to pervert the bonds between father and son':[35]

> Imagine all the depths of wickednesse:
> My wombe as hell: my soule the world of sinne;
> Confusion in my thoughts, feare mercilesse;
> Without me Shame; Impertinence within. (ll. 30-33)

This is however no more than a technique for diverting Solyman's censure away from herself. In describing her womb as hell, Rossa indicates that her chief crime has not been the murder of her Camena, but bearing her in the first place. Camena, she reveals, was conspiring with Mustapha for the over-throw of their father, the proof of this being the token the two exchanged. Solyman, quickly won over, commands his wife, 'Discover how these Treasons came to light' (l. 57). Seizing her opportunity, Rossa now turns her ire on Achmat, urging Solyman to dispose of him as another party to the conspiracy. Asked for further proof, Rossa cites Camena's dying words as implicating Mustapha, adding a pithy acknowledgement of her own infanticidal guilt, couched in terms of service to Solyman: 'I slew my Childe; my Childe would have slaine thee:/All bloody Fates in my blood written be' (ll. 120-121).

The combination of Rossa's reiteration of the terms of Soliman's dilemma in 4.1 with the spectre of legitimate murder of a rebellious child by a reluctant parent spurs Soliman on to the final, decisive act towards which the whole drama has been building:

> I sweare by Mahomet, my sonne shall die.
> Revenge is justice, and no crueltie
> Beglerbie! Attend. This glorious Phaeton here.
> That would at once subvert this State, and Me,
> Safe to the Eunuchs carried let him be.
> These spirits of practise, that contend with fate,
> Must, by their deaths, doe honor to a State. (ll. 122-128)[36]

The long scene which now follows, 4.4, presents an extended meditation on the Turkish state in the light of the unfolding events. Beglerbie, true to the character established for him in Act 1, resolves to acquiesce in the murder, and so retain his position:

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[35] Montrose, in Greenblatt, ed., *Representing the English Renaissance*, p. 60, n 27.
[36] Soliman's invocation of Phaethon here provides a suggestive parallel to a similar reference in Tamburlaine's final speech, discussed in Chapter Three, above.

> New counsells must be had when Planets fall:
> Change hath her periods, and is naturall.
> The Saint we worship is authoritie.

Beglerbie's lack of principle is contrasted sharply with the attitude of the Priest, who now repents his role in the downfall of Mustapha, and declares his loss of faith in the religion of the Turks: 'False Mahomet! Thy Lawes Monarchall are,/Unjust, ambitious; full of spoyle, and blood' (ll. 32-33). As the terms of this denunciation imply, the Priest's disillusionment extends to the whole state system, founded as it is upon bogus religious justifications for policies deployed by power with merely self-serving intent:

> People! Beleeve in God: we are untrue,
> And spirituall forges under Tyrants might:
> God only doth command what's good for you:
> Where we doe preach your bodies to the Warre;
> Your goods to Taxe; your Freedome unto bands. (ll. 45-49)

The Priest here admits the possibility of just rebellion, where rule is unjust, anticipating the prominence which will be given to ideas of popular revolt in the aftermath of Mustapha's death. In line with analyses of the power of the Turks which emphasised the effectiveness of religion as a means of persuading men to heroic self-sacrifice in the service of the state, the Priest's talk of 'spirituall forges' here exposes the process by which spiritual energy is converted into military prowess. The Priest's anger is however for the most part turned inward, as he recognises his guilt in the fate, now finally sealed, of Mustapha:

> Ah forlorne Wretch! With my hypocrisie,
> I Mustapha have ruin'd, and this State.
> I am the evills friend, Hells Mediator,
> A Furie unto man, a man to Furies. (ll. 52-55)

The Priest's self-reproach ends, not in despair, but in a final attempt to persuade Mustapha to resist the attempt which is about to be made on his life. In the dialogue that follows, Mustapha reveals, in his first appearance in the drama, the full extent of his stoic resignation. In answer to the Priest's confession of his guilt, Mustapha asserts the primacy of mercy, which extends not only to personal relationships but to the state: 'Can Justice other there than Mercie be?' (l. 81) Mustapha acknowledges the guilt of

Rossa, and the motive for her deception of Soliman, but nevertheless exculpates the rival who is to benefit from his death:

> Must Rossa's Heires out of my ashes rise?
> Yet Zanger! I acquit thee of my bloud;
> For, I beleeve thy heart hath no impression
> To ruine Mustapha for his Succession. (ll. 97-100)

Where the Priest urges that flight is still possible, Mustapha argues that flight implies fear (ll. 112-114); his death is to be a martyrdom to the principle of order:

> Shall I a sonne, and Subject seeme to dare,
> For any Selfenesse, to set Realmes on fire,
> Which golden title to rebellions are? (ll. 125-127)

Rebellion is not to be risked, nor Soliman's will disobeyed, even though it be corrupted: 'To think against annoynted Power is death' (l. 151). Although there are Christian overtones to Mustapha's final defence of his acquiescence in his father's unjust will, his adherence to Koranic law is also stressed: 'Or Alcoran doth binde,/That I alone should first my Father finde' (ll. 173-174). In refusing this request in the murder which presumably follows this scene immediately in real time (the reader learns of it only by report), it is clear that Solyman is violating not merely a universal law of paternal care, but even the precept of his own holy book. The scene concludes with a speech by the Priest that in effect summarises the analysis of Solyman's power put forward thus far. Mustapha is not to be bound by reverence for his father's blood when Solyman himself is so careless of the claims of kinship (ll. 182-3). Drawing attention to the relative popularity of Mustapha, as against his father to whom 'Feare only drawes regard' (l. 203), the Priest urges Mustapha to attempt his power against a state whose 'constitution' is 'martial' (l. 199), and whose administrative and judicial process is corrupt and exploitative:

> People! Looke up above this Divans name;
> This vent of Error; snare of Libertie;
> Where punishment is Tyrants taxe, and fame. (ll. 209-210)

Included in the Priest's denunciation is the whole court system, with its emphasis on secrecy and concealment, 'Ruine these specious maskes of Tyrannie' (l. 214), and

flattering and powerless lackies, the 'Crowne-payd Caddies of their makers fashion' (l. 215). As he concludes his appeal, the Priest turns to religion as the basis of the whole Turkish illusion, effectively abandoning his own faith and the precepts on which his own authority is based:

> The Church absolves you: Truth approves your worke.
> Craft, and oppression everywhere God hates.
> Besides, where Order is not, Change is free,
> And gives all rights to Popularitie. (ll. 220-223)

Greville leaves Mustapha's response poignantly unclear, as the act modulates into its concluding chorus without interjection from him. As will emerge eloquently in his death, Mustapha remains constant in the conviction that he may not protect order by a violation of order. He thus goes willingly to his death.

The concluding act of the drama opens with a scene of a mere fifteen lines, in which Zanger, the favoured son of Rossa, who is to supplant Mustapha, expresses his foreboding at the coming tragedy. He is quickly joined in 5.2 by Achmat, who informs Zanger of the murder of Mustapha, with an apostrophe against the impiety of Solyman, 'Tyrants! Why swell you thus against your Makers' (l. 1). The destruction of Turkish power variously forecast by the Priest and 'converts to Mahometisme' is now in Achmat's eyes fulfilled:

> Nature is ruin'd; Humanitie fall'n a sunder:
> Our Alcoran prophan'd; Empire defac'd;
> Ruine is broken loose; Truth dead; Hope banisht. (ll. 9-11)

Achmat's reference to the profaning of the Koran implies a radical break in Turkish history. The superseding of traditional religious teaching by some new form reflects one of Greville's most striking reworkings of his source. For in Moffan, Mustapha's death is preceded by a vision of felicity and hope that is explicitly non-Christian in character: 'slepyng about the twye light of the daye, he semed to have seene Machomet appareled with glisteringe robes, takynyng him by the hande, to bringe him unto a certaine place moste delectable'.[37] Greville, on the other hand, presents Mustapha as a Christian martyr.

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[37] Goughe, L2 r.

Achmat now proceeds to narrate the murder, beginning with how Solyman, deceived by Rossa into abandoning 'Justice of Kings, and Lovingness of Fathers' (l. 21), summons Mustapha, who 'Seeing the stormes of Rage, and Danger coming,/Yet came' (ll. 32-33). The account of the murder itself is adorned with Turkish details. The encounter takes place in a 'large, embrodered, sumptuous Pavillion' (l. 45), probably one of the Topkapı Palace's water-side garden kiosks, and tellingly glossed by Greville as a 'Stately Throne of Tyrannie and Murther' (l. 46). On approaching the snare, Mustapha is described as coming 'to the Port' of the kiosk (l. 49), a detail that, recalling the Western characterisation of the Palace and indeed the whole ruling institution as the 'Porte', suggests that both location and incident serve as types of the exercise of Turkish power. The Prince is conducted towards his father by 'six slave Eunuchs' (l. 51). Mustapha, though filled with a spirit of Stoic resignation, 'Not fearing Death [...] Not craving Life' (ll. 55-56), nevertheless desires the audience which, as the reader knows, the Koran allows him. Prince and eunuchs alike kneel weeping before the king. All is in vain however, as Soliman remains unmoved, in the classic western image of Turkish aloofness and inhumanity, watching impassively as his son is strangled (ll. 61-65).

The eunuchs, instantly repenting of a deed they have performed under constraint, struggle to aid Mustapha, until, 'in haste to be an Angell' (l. 81), he utters a final prayer that introduces a Christian note into this specifically Turkish context:

> [...] O Father! Now forgive me;
> Forgive them too, that wrought my overthrow:
> Let my Grave never minister offences.
> For, since my Father coveteth my death,
> Behold, with joy, I offer him my breath. (ll. 84-88)

Here too, Greville has adapted his source to suit his ends, for in Moffan the son is forbidden to utter a word in the presence of his father, perhaps conforming to the stereotypical image of Süleyman's demeanour during public audiences. The last words of Mustapha in Greville's version, though unheeded by Soliman, are crucial to the interpretation of the play.

The intended echo of Christ's words from the cross resolve a question that has run through the play,[38] namely whether Mustapha's virtue and aim of reformation in the

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[38] Luke 23.34.

Turkish state and church tend towards the quasi-Christian. The reader's conclusion that they do, that Mustapha's death represents a Christian martyrdom, more than merely a Turkish atrocity, arises not only from the echo of the dominical words, but in his mode of address ('O Father!'), which is ambiguously both a plea to his earthly father Soliman, and a prayer to God. Mustapha's invocation of two fathers invokes two models of fatherhood that provide the key to Greville's commentary on Turkish history. Tricomi explains Mustapha's death thus:

> Rather than discard his filial obligations or his honour, the values on which family and civilisation are based, he knowingly obeys the paternal command that issues in death.[39]

More precisely, the value in question, respect for the blood-line, is one which the reader is to associate with Christendom; its repudiation emerges across a wide range of texts as the defining feature of Turkishness. In asserting respect for the blood-line, even at the cost of his own life, Mustapha realises at least at the level of symbol, the ruin of Turkish power anticipated by Achmat a few lines earlier. This is why Greville abandons Goughe's exhortation, cited above, to the effect that readers 'ought therfore to rejoice with eche other, for the deathe of so fearce, cruell and deadly an enemye', in favour of the sympathetic and quasi-Christian eunuchs.

The dangers of popular revolt are a major theme for Norbrook, Tricomi and Dollimore, and fairly prominent in Moffan; Greville however deals with the violent uprising after Mustapha's death perfunctorily, and places these events at one remove, tracing them merely in their impact on Achmat and on Rosten. Rosten, whose plotting with Rosa caused Mustapha's death, is now fleeing from the results of this own actions, an irony which does not escape Achmat: 'Seditious Rosten, running from Sedition?' (l. 5). Rosten then runs over the various aspects of the current situation at the Turkish Court. At first, he seems to acknowledge the legitimacy of the popular will: 'And shall I helpe to stay the People's rage [...]/No People, No. Question these Thrones of Tyrants' (ll. 90-92). Finally however, he concludes that the people will destroy 'Worth, Freedome, Power and Right' (ll. 107-108) in the very act of claiming them for themselves. He concludes that his course, and Achmat's, must be to 'Save this high rais'd Soveraignitie' (l. 113), describing a mental process which rehearses what Norbrook describes at the

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[39] Tricomi, p. 70.

trajectory of Greville's dramas as a whole, plays which 'toyed with the idea of rebellion against tyrants even though they eventually rejected it'.[40]

5.4 explores the consequences of Mustapha's death, the suicide of Zanger, together with the repentance of Rossa, and her account of the whole course of her 'mischievous stepmothers malice' (l. 54). Zanger's dying words, as she recounts them, seem to strengthen Rossa's resolve 'Is there no Hell? Or do the Divels love fire?/If neither God, Heaven Hell, Or Divell be;/'Tis plague enough that I am borne of thee' (ll. 83-85); she ends by denouncing all 'humble hearts which unto Power give place' (l. 119).

Bacon, in his essay 'Of Empire', 1623, has this to say about the 'horrible acte' of Süleyman, and its consequence in weakening the blood-line of the Ottoman dynasty:

> Roxalana, Solyman's wife was the destruction of that renowned prince Sultan Mustapha, and otherwise troubled his house and succession [...] The destruction of Mustapha [...] was so fatal to Solyman's line, as the succession of the Turks from Solyman until this day is suspected to be untrue, and of strange blood; for that Selymus the Second was thought to be suppositious.[41]

The reference suggests that the story had something of an iconic status in the developing discourse of Turkish difference, a discourse that for Bacon, as for Greville, is already one of 'declination' (p. 71). In *Mustapha*, the combination of lessons from historiography with radical Calvinist scepticism about secular power, and dramatic conventions derived from Seneca, engages with a specific history in order to transcend it. Mustapha's death is presented ultimately as a typological illustration of the inherent depravity and weakness of a system grounded in the perverse denial of the claims of filiality, both in relation to heirs of the blood and in relation to Christ himself, the true son ousted in the irreligious religion of the Turks by 'false Mahomet'.

In *Mustapha*, Greville fashions an image of Turkish power that is intently focused on the concerns of contemporaneous history writing, meditating variously on the bogus theocracy of the Ottoman institution, the corruption and vulnerability of its ministers, and, centrally, on the unnatural familiality of the ruling dynasty. The two

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[40] Norbrook, p. 150.
[41] Francis Bacon, *The Essays or Counsels Civil and Moral*, ed. by Brian Vickers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 44-45.

aspects of this unnaturalness on which Greville focuses, rivalry between male members of the royal household, and the treachery of women, are important themes in the works to which we now turn, plays written, not for private reading, but for public performance.

Chapter Six

Refractions of the Seraglio Image in the Public Theatre: *2 Henry IV* and *Epicoene*

Thomas Platter, visiting London from Switzerland in 1599, noted the popularity of plays about foreign places: 'The English' he observed, 'for the most part do not travel much, but prefer to learn foreign matters and take their pleasures at home'.[1] In contrast to Platter's confidence about the effectiveness of plays as a means of conveying information about 'foreign matters', recent scholars have expressed scepticism at the degree to which early modern drama really engages with the other. Jean-Pierre Maquerlot and Michèle Willems, for example, highlight 'the problems of visualising and defining the Other which are discovered to be most of the time, another means of defining the Self', and thus regard antiphonality as dominant over representation.[2] At issue then is the question, also raised in the Introduction to this thesis, concerning whether early modern texts about the other engage with foreignness in terms of a stable and coherent set of attributes, or merely in a fleeting and contingent fashion.

The texts discussed in this chapter belong, not to the extensive canon of plays about the Turks, but to a second category of texts that represent Turkishness obliquely within a domestic setting.[3] Both *2 Henry IV* and *Epicoene* invoke the atmosphere and power relations of the Turkish Court in terms that suggest a response to a specific other as revealed in historical and descriptive texts we have already explored in this thesis. The aptness with which they employ Turkish references suggests a careful integration of materials that goes beyond Maquerlot and Willems's understanding of self-reflexive transculturation as merely 'another means of defining the self'.

Scholars have not succeeded in identifying specific sources for the Ottoman references in either the Shakespeare or Jonson plays. Of the extended descriptions of the Seraglio described in Chapter Four, only Richard Grafton's *Order of the Greate Turckes*

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[1] Cited in Anthony Parr, ed., *Three Renaissance Travel Plays* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), Introduction, p. 1.
[2] Cited in Jean-Pierre Maquerlot and Michèle Willems, eds., *Travel and Drama in Shakespeare's Time* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), Chapter One, Introduction, p. 7.
[3] See Louis Wann, 'The Oriental in Elizabethan Drama', *MP*, 12 (1915). Wann lists forty-six early modern plays featuring Turkish settings or characters; Orhan Burian, 'Interest of the English in Turkey as Reflected in English Literature of the Renaissance', *Oriens*, *5* (1952), 209-29; Linda McJannet, 'Mapping the Ottomans on the Renaissance Stage, *Journal of Theatre and Drama*, 2 (1996), 11-33.

Court (1524) appeared early enough to be a source for these authors. There is no evidence of borrowing from Grafton however, nor do the many references to the Seraglio in translations of European works by Curio, Cambino, Jovius, Busbecq, Nicholay and others yield specific verbal parallels.[4] It is possible that Shakespeare and Jonson drew on material that, as with traditional lore about the life of Muhammad, discussed in Chapter One, and the life of *Tamburlaine* (Chapter Three), had sufficient currency to render the search for specific parallels unnecessary.

Alternatively, it may be that diplomatic sources were available. John Sanderson, a Levant Company merchant, includes in an autobiographical note, a reference to the 'full and fine discourse of the citie of Constantinople' contained in 'a little pamflett that was presented me by a doctor Jewe poet; which said discourse he gave me in Italian'.[5] Valensi notes the wide circulation of the Venetian diplomatic anthology *Il Tesoro Politico* (1589) within a few years of its publication, and the existence of single copies of reports by two Venetian emissaries to the Porte before 1616.[6] If such texts were circulating widely, then it is possible that Jonson could have seen the description of the Seraglio by Ottaviano Bon, discussed in Chapter Four, which, though printed in English only in 1625, was written in 1608. A still more intriguing possibility is that of a general availability of English diplomatic accounts of Turkish affairs. Sir Thomas Roe, Ambassador at the Porte, 1621-8, seems to imply as much in a letter to a friend in London: 'I could not send sevrall copies, for swellinge my packett; but I have given order to him, to distribute yt to many of the lords, and some other privat friends'.[7]

Whatever the specific sources for figuring of 'foreign matters' in these plays, it is clear that representations of the Seraglio such as Shakespeare's and Jonson's form part of what Stephen Mullaney has described as an early modern 'rehearsal of cultures' in

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[4] Peter Ashton, *A Shorte Treatise upon the Turkes Chronicles, compyled by Paulus Jovius byshop of Nucerne* (1546); John Shute, Two very notable Commentaries the one of the originall of the Turkes, written by Andrewe Cambine, and thother of the warres of the Turcke against George Scanderbeg (1562); Washington, T., trans., *The Navigations, Peregrinations and Voyages, made into Turkie* [by Nicholas Nicholay], (1585).

[5] John Sanderson, *The Travels of John Sanderson in the Levant, 1584-1602, with his Autobiography and Selections from his Correspondence*, ed. by Sir William Foster (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1931), pp. 60-1. The text Sanderson was given may have been the account of the Seraglio by Hierosolimitano, mentioned by Gülrü Necipoğlu as a principal source for Baudier's *Histoire*, see *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (New York: Architectural History Foundation, 1991), xiii.

[6] Lucette Valensi, *The Birth of the Despot: Venice and the Sublime Porte*, trans. by Arthur Denner (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993), pp. 14-5. The reports were those of Marantonio Barbaro and Giacomo Soranzo.

[7] Sir Thomas Roe, *The Negotiations of Sir Thomas Roe, in his Embassy to the Ottoman Porte, from the year 1621 to 1628*, ed. by Samuel Richardson (1740), letter dated 30 May, 1622.

which theatre played an ethnographic role similar to that described by Thomas Platter, cited above.[8] The Seraglio lent itself to being displayed in this way because it was perceived by the writers of the available sources as a manifestation of the personal power of the sultan that was already essentially histrionic, 'a theatrical stage for the representation of imperial authority'.[9] Theatrical representation of a foreign exercise of power whose forms were already theatrical clearly also enabled an oblique enquiry into more familiar expressions of what David Norbrook, glancing at Benjamin, has described as the 'aestheticisation of politics' in Renaissance Courts.[10] If, as David Scott Kastan has suggested, the result of such display was a questioning of the domestic exercise of power, this need not undermine the depth of engagement with the other.[11] The plays considered in this chapter both indicate a high level of awareness of and interest in arrangements at the Seraglio. The refracted image which they yield suggests lineaments of a concern which, while coloured by domestic issues, is also unmistakably bound up with established themes from history writing, of the murderous Ottoman family, in *2 Henry IV*, and of the unruly Turkish royal wife in *Epicoene*.

Shakespeare's second tetralogy is significantly concerned with issues of national formation: the provision of 'a collective history' for its English public, and the mapping of the kingdom, both in terms of representative locales – Court, tavern; metropolitan centre, outlying area – and of ethnographic comparison between the English and contiguous races, the Irish, Welsh and Scots.[12] The concern to establish what England is by contrast with what it is not relates not only to near neighbours but to the larger grouping denoted by the idea of Christendom. Christianity frequently serves in the plays as a marker of identity. Hotspur bears 'military title capital/Through all the kingdoms that acknowledge Christ', while Worcester stands condemned after the Battle of Shrewsbury because of the lives that would have been spared had he fulfilled his

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[8] Stephen Mullaney, *The Place of the Stage: License, Play and Power in Renaissance England* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1988), Ch. 3.
[9] Necipoğlu, p. 250
[10] David Norbrook, *Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance* (Revised Edition, New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 5. Norbrook, pp. 3-4, suggests a particular resonance between Benjamin's use of this phrase in 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction' and the work of the Warburg school.
[11] David Scott Kastan, 'Proud Majesty Made a Subject: Shakespeare and the Spectacle of Rule', *Shakespeare Quarterly 37* (1986), 459-75, p. 461, 'Whatever their overt ideological content, history plays inevitably, if unconsciously, weakened the structure of authority: on stage the king became a subject – the subject of the author's imaginings, and the subject of the attention and judgement of an audience of subjects'.
[12] Jean E. Howard and Phyllis Rackin, *Engendering a Nation: A Feminist Account of Shakespeare's English Histories* (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 39, 161.

commission 'like a Christian'.[13] Prince John, in *2 Henry IV*, 4.2.339-41, assures the treacherous Archbishop of York, 'I promised you redress of these same grievances/Whereof you did complain; which, by mine honour,/I will perform with a most Christian care'.

Such references to the boundaries separating the Christian from the non-Christian relate back to Gaunt's dying invocation of crusade as the abiding example of English chivalry and valour:

> Feared by the breed and famous by their birth,
> Renowned for their deeds as far from home
> For Christian service and true chivalry
> As is the sepulchre, in stubborn Jewry,
> Of the world's ransom, blessed Mary's son. (*Richard II*, 2.1.52-6)

Crusade is to figure in the second tetralogy as a bench-mark not so much of loyalty to Christ, as of implacable enmity to the other, specifically identified by the Bishop of Carlisle in the same play with the religion of the Turks:

> Many a time hath banished Norfolk fought
> For Jesu Christ in glorious Christian field,
> Streaming the ensign of the Christian cross
> Against black pagans, Turks, and Saracens. (4.1.83-6)[14]

The *motif* of crusade and pilgrimage running through the first three plays cycle suggests a sustained concern with English self-definition in relation to the Turkish other, though this first reference perhaps call into question Henry's personal preoccupation with the redemptive function of Crusade as the tetralogy develops. The Bishop's association of Bolingbroke with war against the Turk is clearly more than casual: at l. 130 he warns that 'Peace shall go sleep with Turks and infidels', if Bolingbroke is permitted to retain the throne. The concern with the other as Turk to implied by these references surfaces very directly and abruptly in an invocation to Ottoman fratricide at what is perhaps the pivotal moment of the whole cycle, the accession of King Henry V:

> Brothers, you mix your sadness with some fear.
> This is the English, not the Turkish court;

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[13] *The Norton Shakespeare*, ed. by Stephen Greenblatt, Walter Cohen, Jean E. Howard and Katherine Eisaman Maus, (New York: W. W. Norton, 1997), *1 Henry IV*, 3.2.110-11, 5.5.9. Subsequent references to Shakespeare's plays are to the Norton edition unless otherwise stated, and are in the text.

[14]

> Not Amurath an Amurath succeeds,
> But Harry Harry. (*2 Henry IV*, 5.2.46-9)

Again, the choice of referent is not an arbitrary one, but a finely calculated complement to the crusade/pilgrimage *motif*, as we can see from the sequence which builds up to Hal's accession, from 4.3 to 5.2.

The opening of 4.3 marks a shift of register, as we move from the relatively disparate earlier part of the play, with its varied themes and locations, to a more sustained dramatic period, and a concentrated, even 'claustrophobic' sense of enclosed domestic space.[15] There is a close relationship between problems of succession and conflict within the royal family and the confined space of the royal palace in this part of the play. It is in this conjunction of theme and locale that the nature of Turkish power emerges as a significant sub-theme. Hal's reference to Ottoman fratricide at the end of this sequence comes at the climax of a series of scenes in which the palace is realised as markedly Harem-like. This in turn resonates with the oriental atmosphere generated by repeated references to the old King's frustrated ambition to lead a crusade to Palestine. As we saw in relation to the reference to crusaders as fighters against 'Turks and Saracens' in the passage from *Richard II* cited above, the Holy Land was associated with the conflict between Christendom and the Turks, with the former seen as spiritual heirs and descendents of the latter. Early audiences would also of course be aware that Jerusalem was then under Ottoman control.

Hal's reference to the Turkish Court at 5.2.47 cannot be attributed to any particular source. It is safe to say however that any source that informed him about the Ottoman custom of royal fratricide would have related it to the particular characteristics of the Harem as 'a constellation of fragmented spaces enveloped by high walls and blocked from access with a large number of successive gates [...] a prison like, labyrinthine space designed for intrigue'.[16] It is just such a sense of the Seraglio as a space that underlies Shakespeare's presentation of the prolonged death scene of Henry IV. Shakespeare has combined invocations of Jerusalem with reminders of a potential threat of violence within the royal family, and a presentation of royal space as dangerous and disorientating, to produce a powerful refraction of the Seraglio image.

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[15] Stephen Greenblatt, 'Invisible Bullets: Renaissance Authority and it Subversion, Henry IV and Henry V', in Jonathan Dollimore and Alan Sinfield, eds., *Political Shakespeare: New Essays in Cultural Materialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985) p. 34.
[16] Necipoğlu, p. 182.

The effectiveness of the long concluding scene of Act 4 depends to a large degree on repeated references to hiding, over-hearing, and unseen observation, suggesting the possibility for unseen action in rooms that are out of view as the king progresses from room to room. After the opening of the sequence in the, as yet unnamed, Jerusalem Chamber, the King requests at 4.4.131 to be moved into another room. Attention is drawn back to the first location by the use of off-stage musicians: 'Call for music in the other room' (4.5.4). At 4.5.17 the King's desire for private audience with Hal signals a further movement, perhaps into an ante-chamber, 'Let us withdraw into the other room'. At the moment when he awakes to discover the crown missing, attention is drawn once again to the network of communicating chambers within the Palace:

> *King.* Why did you leave me here alone, my lords?
> *Clar.* We left the Prince my brother here, my liege,
> Who undertook to sit and watch by you.
> *King.* The Prince of Wales? Where is he? Let me see him.
> He is not here.
> *War.* This door is open, he is gone this way.
> *Glou.* He came not through the chamber where we stay'd. (4.5.50-6)

Bearing in mind that, in the early modern theatre, only one 'room' could be visible to the audience at a given time, the build-up of dramatic tension as the King nears his death arises in part from a sense of proliferating complexity in the imagined lay-out of the palace.

The urgency of the king's questions reflects the fear of free movement by an opponent on the part of one who is immobile, and perhaps short of sight. Specifically, the king fears that his son will murder him from an unseen position of superiority, a scenario that inverts story of the murder of Mustapha in the labyrinthine Harem, at his father's behest, and with the father watching unseen behind a screen. It is Warwick who takes it upon himself to allay the king's fears:

> *War.* My Lord, I found the Prince in the next room,
> Washing with kindly tears his gentle cheeks,
> With such a deep demeanour in great sorrow,
> That tyranny, which never quaff'd but blood,
> Would, by beholding him, have wash'd his knife
> With gentle eye-drops. (4.5.82-7)

Invoking patricide as the mark of the tyrannous other, Warwick reassures the king that Hal is not tyrannous/patricidal, but 'kindly'/kinly, in a polarity that prefigures Hal's own

later accession greeting to his brothers, 'This is the English, not the Turkish court' (5.2.44).

The sense of royal domestic space that so sharply characterises this scene is intensified by an over-determination of that space generated by symbolic play on the name of the room where the king begins and ends this, his final journey. Arden 2 places the reader at a questionable advantage by supplying the location of the opening of 4.3 as 'Westminster: Jerusalem Chamber'.[17] The symbolic poignancy of this location is in no way diminished by the delayed revelation of the name: at the end of the scene we learn that what has seemed a progression through a series of rooms, has in fact been a revolution around a symbolically charged domestic centre. The dying king's quest in fact addresses questions of theological meaning, with Jerusalem recalling the goal at once of crusade as the classic form of aggressive Christian encounter with the other, of pilgrimage undertaken to expiate sin, and of the King's immortal soul:

> *King.* Doth any name particular belong
> Unto the lodging where I first did swoon?
> *War.* 'Tis call'd Jerusalem, my noble lord.
> *King.* Laud be to God! Even there my life must end.
> It hath been prophesied to me, many years,
> I should not die but in Jerusalem,
> Which vainly I suppos'd to be the holy Land.
> But bear me to that chamber; there I'll lie;
> In that Jerusalem shall Harry die. (IV. 5. 233-40)

King Henry's lament over the unrecoverability of the sacred places has a wistful quality that resonates with the nostalgia that is so marked a feature of the two middle plays of the tetralogy. The frustration of both crusade and pilgrimage in the apprehension of a domestic Jerusalem serves as a poignant marker of the transition from one epoch to another; the severing of an old continuity, and the inception of a modernity that the audience must surely associate with its own, Protestant, era.

The pilgrimage *motif* looks back to Richard II, where the expedition to Jerusalem is first mooted by the newly acceded Henry IV as an act of atonement for the crime of deposing the anointed king:

> Come mourn with me for what I do lament

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[17] A. R. Humphreys, ed., *King Henry IV Part 2*, (London: Methuen, 1966), 4.1 SD. Humphreys's note, p. 139, points out that this chamber in Westminster Abbey has been silently moved by Shakespeare to his unspecified royal palace.

And put on sullen black incontinent.
I'll make a voyage to the holy Land
To wash this blood from off my guilty hand. (*Richard II*, 5.6.47-50)[18]

In the opening scene of *1 Henry IV* however, imagined as continuous in time with the end of the earlier play, it is crusade rather than pilgrimage that underpins the idea of the expedition, recalling the chivalrous ideals of Gaunt's speech, cited above:

Therefore friends,
As far as to the sepulchre of Christ –
Forthwith a power of English we shall levy [...]
To chase those pagans in those holy fields
Over whose acres walked those blessed feet
Which fourteen hundred years ago were nailed,
For our advantage, on the bitter cross. (1.1.18 ff.)[19]

The tetralogy is poised between two models of encounter with the other, one derived from an introspective sense of sin, and the other on religiously sanctioned violence.

What may have been, for early audiences, Henry's laudable aims in wishing to attack Jerusalem, are however undercut by the dying King's speech to his son, in which he admits a motive of *realpolitik* alongside the desire to do penance and recapture Palestine for Christendom:

I [...] had a purpose now
To lead out many to the Holy Land,
Lest rest and lying still might make them look
Too near unto my state. Therefore, my Harry,
Be it thy course to busy giddy minds
With foreign quarrels, that action hence borne out
May waste the memory of the former days. (4.3.337-43)

As Howard and Rackin note, crusade is here 'discredited as a mask for a secular domestic political agenda'.[20] The modernity that is to have its inception with Hal's

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[18] Cf. King Richard's insistent invocation of the Gospels prior to his deposition, *Richard II* 4.1.135, 160-2, 229-332. These references, which both present Richard as a Christ-like figure, and evoke a very specific topography of the Jerusalem (Golgotha, the Garden of Gethsemane, the House of Pilate) are interesting in relation to Henry's intended form of expiation for the guilt of regicide. See also Gospel references in the deposition scene, 5.5.13-7.

[19] Henry is immediately forced to abandon his designs of Jerusalem, see ll. 48, 101. Crusade, rather than pilgrimage, is also envisaged at 2 Henry 4 4.3.1-4.

[20] Howard and Rackin, p. 161. Avraham Oz, 'Nation and Place in Shakespeare: The Case of Jerusalem as a National Desire in Early Modern English Drama', in Ania Loomba and Martin Orkin, eds., *Post-colonial Shakespeares* (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 103, argues that crusade was a dead letter 'irrelevant to any Christian military enterprise'. Fernand Braudel sees Lepanto as putting an end to notions of crusade, which he argues are replaced after about 1575 by 'internal wars' in Europe, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Phillip II*, trans. by Siân Reynolds (London: Collins, 1972), 2 vols., vol 2. pp. 842-3. See also however F. L. Baumer, who in 'England, The Turk, and

accession, disquietingly associated with the use of war as a tool of state-craft, emerges here as no more than an extension of his father's secular cynicism. Hal will show himself his father's son, not by bringing to fulfilment his thwarted crusade, but by skilful manipulation of xenophobia, in a calculated assault on the memory of a people that knows its government illegitimate.

The question of the relationship between England and the Turk/Saracen/Pagan other, sensed obliquely through the various iterations of the crusade *motif* in the two preceding plays, emerges strongly at the end of this penultimate movement of *2 Henry IV*. The east's final return in the play is a highly poignant one, occurring at the moment of strong suspense to which this and the preceding play have been building. Hal's brothers, and with them, the audience, are at this point still in some doubt as to how their new king will exercise rule. The accession speech is expected to indicate whether he is to be motivated by cruelty and revenge, or by virtue. Significantly, in view of the prominence of fraternal relations in European writing about the Turks, it is in the form of a disavowal of Turkishness that Hal declares his eirenic stance towards his brothers:

> Brothers, you mix your sadness with some fear.
> This is the English, not the Turkish court;
> Not Amurath an Amurath succeeds,
> But Harry Harry. (V.2.43-9)

The speech serves to reassure his brothers, and those watching the play, that his rule is to be governed by what is here cast as a stable and traditional English mildness and justice, rather than a figurative foreignness that his brothers fear will express itself in violence against them.

The custom referred to is factual, and could have been known to Shakespeare and his audience through a variety of written sources. The succession system of the Ottomans, in common with that of other dynasties of the Near East, showed no preference for primogeniture, at least before the seventeenth century. As a result of the lack of any pre-established precedence among candidates for the throne, the early period of Ottoman rule, prior to the capture of Constantinople, was characterised by bloody and sometimes prolonged competition between rival brothers. Fratricide remained an inevitable but informal element in the transfer of rule from sultan to sultan until Mehmet

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the Common Corps of Christendom', *American Historical Review*, 50 (1954), 26-48, p. 26 ff. argues for a greater continuity with the outlook of the middle ages, questioning the view that European powers, including England, negotiated with the Turks 'with an eye solely to dynastic and national

II, the Conqueror, decreed formally that, 'for the welfare of the state, the one of my sons to whom God grants the sultanate may lawfully put his brothers to death'.[21] Among recent examples, Shakespeare's reference to the murder of brothers by newly acceded sultans could be based on real events of 1574 (Murat/Amurath II) or, with striking topicality, of 1596 (Mehmet III).

Hal's disavowal of malign foreignness is particularly suggestive in view of the fact that his father has earlier invoked ideas of the foreign in calling him to account for his base manner of living, telling him at *1 Henry 4*, 3.2.43-5, that he is 'almost an alien to the hearts/Of all the court and princes of my blood'. As death approaches, the King's sense of Hal as a foreigner is exacerbated, as he imagines the moral dissolution that may follow his death as an incursion of aliens:

> Down, royal state! All you sage counsellors, hence!
> And to the English court assemble now
> From every region, apes of idleness! (4.5.120-2)

In reassuring his brothers that 'Not Amurath an Amurath succeeds', Hal is allaying fears aroused by his own conduct about the purity of his racial-national commitment. Hal's figurative foreignness is associated with the rebellious space of the tavern, and in particular with Falstaff. Interestingly in this regard, one element in the complex banter of Falstaff and his friends is a pattern of reference to theatrical representations of oriental rulers, such as *Cambyses*, Peele's lost *Turkish Mahomet and the Fair Hiren*, and *Tamburlaine*.[22] This exoticisation of Falstaff resurfaces in the banishment scene, where he greets Pistol with the words, 'O base Assyrian, what is thy news?' (*2 Henry IV*, 5.3.94).[23] In view of these references, it is perhaps significant that the problem of Hal's

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expediency'.

[21] Halil Inalcık, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age, 1300-1600*, trans. by Norman Itkowitz and Colin Imber (New York: Praeger Publications, 1973). See also André Clot, *Suleiman the Magnificent: the man, his life, his epoch* (London: Saqi, 1992), pp. 27-9, and Appendix 4, 'The law of fratricide'.

[22] See *1 Henry IV*, 2.5.350-2: 'FALSTAFF 'Give me a cup of sack to make my eyes look red, that it may be thought I have wept; for I must speak in passion, and I will do it in King Cambyses' vein'; *2 Henry IV*, 2.4.136, 151: 'PISTOL Have we not Hiren here'; and 141-4: 'PISTOL Shall pack horses/And hollow pampered jades of Asia [...]/Compare with Caesars and with cannibals,/And Trojan Greeks?'. For the background to Peele's play, see Samuel C. Chew, *The Crescent and the Rose: England and Islam during the Renaissance* (New York: Octagon, 1965), pp. 478-84.

[23] The scene also seems to bear out the old King's fears about the corruption that Hal's friends will usher in upon his death: 'Boot, boot, Master Shallow! I know the young king is sick for me. Let us take any man's horses – the laws of England are at my commandment' (5.3.124-6).

foreignness resolves, not in an act of fratricide within the royal dynasty, but in the banishment of Falstaff, which serves as a symbolic murder of the substitute father.[24]

Fraternal conflict thus forms the inevitable adjunct to a reference to the transfer of power in the Ottoman Empire. Conversely, to invoke the Turk is very often to deploy images of murderous sons and brothers. In *Tamburlaine*, Marlowe had used fraternal conflict as a defining quality of Near Eastern power, but in a setting of open war. Shakespeare's translation of this conflict to the domestic scene is a telling acknowledgement of the settled nature of Turkish power, and indeed of its sophistication, at his own day. It also provides an insight into the Harem image at the end of the sixteenth century, one that emphasises power over sex, and that imagines the palace as a theatre for intrigues and potentially murderous power struggles within the royal family. The dynamism of this image has far more in common with *Mustapha* and its mid-century sources than with the picturesque depictions of the later seventeenth century and after.

The elimination of alterity signalled by Hal's reference to Ottoman fratricide (2 Henry IV 5.2.40 ff.) in one sense figures the collapsing of alterity back into aspects of the self, confirming what Maquerlot and Willems in the passage cited at the opening of this chapter take to be a frequent occurrence in representations of foreignness in early modern English drama:

> Carried to extremes, the Europeans' mutilated and mutilating vision obliterates cultural alterity, reducing it almost to invisibility.[25]

Hal's reassurance of his brothers however leaves a residual feeling of anxiety that is not entirely allayed by his reformation, perhaps recalling Richard III's disingenuous denial of murderous intent, 'What, think you we are Turks or infidels [...]?' (*Richard III*, 3.5.39).

Spectres of Turkishness continue to appear in *Henry V*, as in King Henry's image of the Turkish mute to suggest the impotence of the English, if frustrated in their projected expedition to France:

> Or there we'll sit,

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[24] Falstaff's quasi-paternal relationship to Hal is implicit throughout, but most clearly expressed at *1 Henry IV*, 2.5.340 ff.
[25] Maquerlot and Willems, p. 7.

> Ruling in large and ample empery,
> O'er France and all her almost kingly dukedoms,
> Or lay these bones in an unworthy urn,
> Tombless, with no remembrance over them.
> Either our history shall with full mouth
> Speak freely of our acts, or else our grave,
> Like Turkish mute, shall have a tongueless mouth,
> Not worshipped with a waxen epitaph. (1.2.225-33)

As Howard and Rackin note, the image conjured here seems to conflate two standard images of the Ottoman Court, those of the mute and eunuch, the latter providing a chilling echo of the mutilation of English corpses on the battlefield by Welsh women at *1 Henry IV*, 1.1.44. Further reference to the east as the goal of English kingship serves only to emphasise the attenuation of Henry IV's mission, with crusade reduced to his son's founding of a chantry where masses are to be said for Richard's soul (*Henry V*, 4.2.282 ff.), and the desire to foster a son who will 'go to Constantinople and take the Turk by the beard' (5.2.195-6).

Another play that reflects a London audience's awareness of the imaginative potential of the Seraglio as a domestic space is Jonson's *Epicoene*, first performed probably some dozen years after *2 Henry IV*. The thrust of Shakespeare's oblique treatment of the Ottoman court is towards the dynastic, and the result is dark in tone; Jonson's comic handling of the same theme focuses largely on the problematic gendering of power implied by the Sultan's male isolation within a community of women, a preoccupation which echoes both the anxieties about the power of Roxelana/Rossa that we traced in relation to *Mustapha* in Chapter Five, and the problematic uxoriousness of Tamburlaine discussed in Chapter Three.

Given a number of parallel strains in Jonson scholarship since the 1990s, the time is perhaps ripe for a reappraisal of the other-relations of Jonson's drama. Sanders, Chedgzoy and Wiseman have outlined a post-New Historicist trend in Jonson studies emerging from the work of various scholars in the 1990s.[26] Where Greenblatt and his followers had suggested a Jonson reactionary in politics, conservative in aesthetics, and misogynistic in his treatment of women, Sanders et al. present a more fragmented and

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[26] See Julie Sanders, Kate Chedgzoy and Susan Wiseman, eds., *Refashioning Ben Jonson: Gender, Politics and the Jonsonian Canon* (Basingstoke, 1998), Introduction. The movements suggested by Sanders et al. reflect a sense of a new era in Jonson studies which is connected to the long-awaited appearance of a new standard edition to replace the Oxford edition edited by C. H. Herford and Percy and Evelyn Simpson. On issues surrounding the Cambridge Ben Jonson, see Martin Butler, ed., *Re-Presenting Ben Jonson: Text, History Performance* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999).

complex figure. Their Jonson is one poised uneasily between the public and the private, whose attempted self-authorisation lends itself to strategies of deconstruction and decentring; whose politics veer uneasily between the controversies of different reigns and eras; and whose configurations of gender, particularly in the masques and later plays, are open to a feminist 'retrievalist programme'.[27] To these elements of the critical 'refashioning' of Jonson after Greenblatt, we may add cultural geography as a crucial and neglected area awaiting concentrated attention from Jonson scholars.

This new, international Jonson was perhaps most clearly heralded in the late 1990s by James Knowles's discovery of a lost Jonson text, the 'Entertainment at Britain's Burse'.[28] The 'Entertainment' signals a new direction for Jonson scholarship, both as a work that necessitates a modification of understandings of Jacobean aristocratic patronage to take account of commercial interests, and as a work insistently focused on foreign objects. Unmistakable similarities of tone and reference also link the 'Entertainment' to the comedies of the same period, so that we are bound to ask whether international themes may not merit a far more prominent place than has hitherto been the case in Jonson criticism. Chinese porcelain is particularly prominent in the 'Entertainment', echoing frequent references in connection with the fops and fashionable ladies of *Epicoene*.[29] Turkish commodities are also noted however, and resonate with pronounced themes in both *Volpone* and *The Alchemist*.

Epicoene has in common with *2 Henry IV* a strong focus on questions of domestic living. Where Shakespeare's history play associates the labyrinthine Palace at Westminster with treacherous plots of intra-familial murder, Jonson's comedy operates within generic expectations to create a drama that centres on issues of domestic crowding, concealment and exposure.[30] The action centres on the efforts of the misanthropic Morose to disinherit his greedy nephew Dauphine by taking a wife. Morose's Turkish aspect is apparent in the first description of him in the exchange between Dauphine's friends Truewit and Clerimont in the opening scene of the play:

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[27] Butler., *n* 18 p. 24.
[28] For an Introduction and full text of this work, see James Knowles, 'Jonson's Entertainment at Britain's Burse' in Butler.
[29] See for example I.3.35, I.4. *n*, IV.3.23-4.
[30] *Epicoene*, ed. by Edward Partridge (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1971). In the Introduction, p. 2, Partridge notes that 'In Act IV there are four separate instances of overhearing'. Subsequent references are to this edition and are in the text.

> *Truewit.* Sick o'the uncle is he [i.e. Dauphine]? I met that stiff piece of formality, his uncle, yesterday, with a huge turbant of nightcaps on his head, buckled over his ears.
> *Clerimont.* O, that's his custom when he walks abroad. He can endure no noise, man. (1.1.129-33)

Morose's 'turbant' introduces a comic trope that underpins the whole action of the play. Its basis is an ironic association made between Morose, a curmudgeon whose abhorrence of noise expresses a general misanthropy, and the Sultan of Turkey. Ensconced within his Seraglio, the Sultan serves in *Epicoene* as the embodiment of Morose's fantasy of mastery, an image which confirms the emphasis in some accounts of the Ottoman Court on the Sultan's life as one of leisure and retirement.

Morose's house, like the Harem, is a space insulated from all commerce with the outside world, and also famously silent:

> The perpetuity of ringing [of bells] has made him devise a room with double walls and treble ceilings, the windows close shut and calked, and thus he lives by candlelight. (1.1.166-8)

Morose's obsession with noise extends to the conduct of his servants, who are instructed to move noiselessly, and to communicate only with signs.

> The Turk, in this divine discipline, is admirable, exceeding all the potentates of the earth; still waited on by mutes, and all his commands so executed, yea, even in the war, as I have heard, and in his marches, most of his charges and directions given by signs and with silence: an exquisite art! (2.1.26-30)[31]

This description echoes any number of early modern accounts of the use of sign language by the sultan's mutes.[32] The impression of similarity to the Turkish court is all the stronger if Morose is actually attended by a Mute in this and similar scenes.[33]

The single-minded nature of Morose's desire for peace makes him particularly vulnerable to deception, and Dauphine spares no trickery in pursuit of the aim of preserving his inheritance. Having understood Morose's plan to disinherit him, he conceives a scheme whereby he will 'assist' Morose in his attempt to find a silent

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[31] Partridge, p. 179, suggests Busbecq and Knolles as possible sources for this reference; these are in fact merely the best-known of a large number of possibilities.
[32] See Necipoğlu, pp. 2608.
[33] Modern editors tend to include the mute in their stage directions, amplifying the table of 'The Persons of the Play' which lists 'Mute, one of Morose's servants', see Partridge, p. 27.

woman, but sabotage the union in such a way that Morose will eventually seek release from his bond and agree to reinstate his Nephew as heir. This he achieves by disguising the boy Epicoene as a demure bride. The scene in which the two are introduced, with its insistent reminders of Morose's desire for silence, shows the way Dauphine is able to play upon Morose: 'Welcome, Cutbeard! Draw near with your fair charge, and, in her ear, softly entreat her to unmask.' Having questioned the barber, who is secretly in Dauphine's employ, about Epicoene's suitability, Morose begins to question the 'lady' herself. Ironically, he is at first discouraged by her silence:

> Alas, lady, these answers by silent curtsies, from you are too courtless and simple. I have ever had my breeding in court, and she that shall be my wife must be accomplished with courtly and audacious ornaments. Can you speak lady? (2.5.26-9)

It is now established that Epicoene can indeed, speak, but only very quietly. Morose thus resolves to revert to the 'Turkish' system he uses with his servants in his dealings with her:

> O' my judgement, a divine softness! But can you naturally, lady, as I enjoin these by doctrine and industry, refer yourself to the search of my judgement and, not taking pleasure in your tongue, which is a woman's chiefest pleasure, think it plausible to answer me by silent gestures, so long as my speeches jump right with what you conceive? (2.5.33-8)

In seeking to reproduce the conditions of Turkish imperial domesticity in London Morose is of course seeking the impossible, and his downfall is inevitable. The certainty of his comeuppance is signalled at the end of the scene where he banishes the prospects of Dauphine's now ruined knighthood, 'It shall not have hope to repair itself by Constantinople, Ireland, or Virginia' (2.5.111).[34] Morose is here perhaps imagining himself as the sovereign who will have the pleasure of rejecting his Nephew's suit.

Jonson's refraction of the Harem image is both complex and novel. Morose's fantasy is of an environment where women exist solely to convenience men, and perform their courtly and amorous tasks with perfect silence and decorum. The key element of this fantasy, and the one that shows clearly that the Turkish court is Morose's model, is the absence of rival men, allowing for the Seigneur's complete mastery over

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[34] Partridge notes these as 'three places where younger brothers, wastrels, and criminals could go to rescue their fortunes or escape the law'.

his surroundings. The economy of *Epicoene* in fact re-envisions just such a female community, in the form of the pretentious and man-hating 'collegiates' with whom Epicoene, no longer silent in the scenes following the mock-marriage ceremony, is allied to great comic effect. Morose, in desiring in his marriage partner a conjunction of female accomplishment and silence has clearly aimed for the unattainable; his hubris receives its reward in Epicoene's shrewishness, to the extent that he begs to be free of 'her'. Dauphine's revelation that he has in fact 'married a boy' (V.4.181-2) finally comes as something of a relief, and he gladly re-inherits his nephew as a condition of his escape, re-instating as he does so an order of male homosociality.

Jonson's misogyny has long been a contentious topic in criticism, and the recognition of more imaginative dramatic solutions in some later plays cannot be said to have resolved the difficulties inevitably thrown up in this regard by the central works of the Jonson canon. Of the 'middle comedies', *Epicoene* presents the most insuperable difficulties in this regard, because the play's female characters are all drag queens of one description or another.[35] The surprise thwarting of Morose's fantasy of masculine control can in fact be seen as a rebuke to the totalising character of his desire for dominance. The overwhelming assertion of female power by the collegiates as they invade Morose's peaceful home constitutes at the same time an interesting comment on the Harem as seen by Western writers, reminding spectators that the place of containment may function at the same time as a school of disobedience, like Mrs. Otter's academy. In setting the struggle for mastery between the sexes within a domestic environment fashioned partly from Western men's fantastic imaginings of the Seraglio, Jonson articulates a theme that is prominent in writings about the Seraglio itself, including *Mustapha*, in which wonder at the Sultan's unlimited erotic power alternates with fearful acknowledgements of the dangers of the Harem as a space in which the political power of women may be consolidated. Anxieties such as those expressed in *Epicoene* prefigure a whole modern historiographic tradition that, as we saw in Chapter Four, has been similarly ill-at-ease with the Harem, listing the seventeenth century 'reign of Women' among the chief causes of Ottoman decline.

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[35] Lois Potter, 'The Swan Song of the Stage Historian', in Butler, p. 203, justly refers to *Epicoene* as 'less in tune with the late twentieth century' than *The Alchemist*. Potter's immediate context suggests that the early modern boy actor is partly responsible for this; I would argue that the play's gender politics are at least as much of a problem.

Of the two plays considered in this chapter, *2 Henry 4* conforms to the traditional emphasis on the Seraglio as a space of dynastic struggle. Such murders as Murat III's, Süleyman's of Mustapha, and Süleyman's father, Selim I's, of his father, Beyazit II, were taken as paradigmatic in relation to the difference of Turkish power, seen as replicating the cycle of internecine enmity which we explored in relation to Biblical narrative of the ancient lineage of the Turks in Chapter One. Such 'horrible actes' are seen as constitutive of a power that was inherently unnatural:

> As for the kind law of nature, what can be thereunto more contrarie, than for the father most unnaturally to embrue his hands in the bloud of his owne children? and the brother to become the bloudie executioner of his owne brethren? a common matter among the Othoman Emperours. All which most execrable and inhumane murthers they cover with the pretended safetie of their state, as thereby freed from the feare of all aspiring competitors.[36]

Shakespeare's somewhat ambivalent assertion of the superiority of English 'kind law' can thus be seen as a response to central features of the traditional literature about the Turks.

Jonson's comedic presentation, on the other hand, anticipates the eroticised, and feminised, image which comes to dominate after the early modern period, and which we will consider in more detail in Chapter Seven.

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[36] Knolles, 'Author's Induction', A5 r.

Chapter Seven

From Tyranny to Despotism

The Seraglio may have lent itself to representation on the early modern stage, but the power so effectively dramatised by the architecture and ceremonial of the Topkapı Palace was no illusion. At the centre of the Ottoman world was a concrete demonstration of political attributes of the Turkish monarchy that were genuinely a source of wonder to Western observers, whose home states were still far short of the technical capabilities that would enable them to develop absolutist rule during the seventeenth century. One fundamental difference between Europe and Turkey that is remarked by all observers is the Ottoman system of property ownership. Whereas the west was in the process of consolidating the security of private property, the Ottomans *kul*, or slave system meant that the entire civil and military service was regarded as belonging to the sultan, with both property and titles reverting to him on the death of the holder. Considering the radical strangeness of this system to western observers, Perry Anderson has concluded that 'the contrast so intensely felt by contemporaries between European and Ottoman historical forms was [...] well-founded'.[1] The *kul* system obtained throughout the Ottoman possessions. Nowhere however did it strike home with such force as at the Seraglio at Constantinople, where huge numbers of palace slaves were engaged in a vast and elaborately detailed daily pageant of deference.

One result of this unique property system was the absence of aristocracy, which meant that there were no alternative centres of power to threaten imperial government. This highly centralised rule was to a degree an effect of the property system for, as Anderson observes, 'there could be no stable, hereditary nobility within the Empire, because there was no security of property which could found it' (p. 366). The result to western eyes was a system that afforded the sultan a degree of control over, and the ability to command a depth of loyalty from, royal servants that seemed totally beyond the capacity of western rulers. Western visitors' frequent expressions of wonder at the discipline and silence of military and civil officials at the palace are thus grounded in a sense of the Turkish power as a system, rather that merely as spectacle.

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[1] Perry Anderson, *Lineages of the Absolutist State* (London: NLB, 1974), p. 407. Subsequent references are in the text.

The practice that crystallised the absoluteness of Ottoman power most clearly for western writers was the *devşirme*, an annual tribute of boys seized mostly from the Christian Balkans, who formed the basis of the Ottoman imperial service. The boys were removed from their homes, converted to Islam, and educated in a harsh regime in the Third Court of the Seraglio that included physical training, military exercises and religious instruction. Different streams of the palace school provided personnel for the various levels of royal attendance, and also for the Janissaries, who were particularly noted for their orderliness. Sandys, for example, notes admiringly that among them, 'the juniors do reverence their seniors, and all obey their commanders [...] with much silence and humility'.[2] It is not the discipline of the Janissaries that makes them an iconic image of Turkish power to western writers such as Sandys however, but the insight they yield into a structure of power that is seen as inimical to ties of kinship for, as Sandys goes on to observe, the Janissaries and slaves are bound by 'no nobility of blood, no knowne parentage, kindred nor hereditary possessions: but are as it were of the Sultans creation, depending upon him onely for their sustenance and preferments' (E6 r).[3]

What is true of the sultan's subordinates is also taken as true of his own kin who, as we have seen, whether fathers, brothers, or sons, are equally subject to a brutal and arbitrary exercise of power that is the opposite of true Christian kinship.[4] Foxe makes this point very clearly, describing the Turks as 'Enemies of the Son of God, and all lawful empires, because they dissolve and reject all godly societies, honest discipline, good laws, policies, righteous judgement, the ordinance of matrimony, and godly families'.[5] This formulation expresses a defining feature of the western image of the Turks, in which the

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[2] George Sandys, *A Relation of a Journey Begun An: Dom: 1610* (1615, reprinted Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1973), E6 r. See also Hugh Goughe, *The Ofspring of the House of Ottomano* (1569), B6 r. Subsequent references to Sandys are in the text.

[3] The janissaries were also of course capable of presenting a serious threat to rule, and show an increasing tendency through our period to violent shows of dissatisfaction with their ruler. In this, some writers compare them to the Praetorian Guard of Rome, that combined a similarly impressive discipline regime with a tendency to revolt. See Francis Bacon, *The Essays: Or Counsels Civil and Moral*, ed. by Brian Vickers (Oxford, 1999), 'Of Empire', p. 46; William Lithgow, *The Totall Discourse of The Rare Adventures and Painefull Peregrinations of long Nineteene Yeares Travayles* (Glasgow: J. MacLehose, 1906), p. 149.

[4] Busbecq is on the whole positive about the absence of aristocracy, holding up what he sees as the entirely meritocratic Turkish system as a model for European states to emulate. Describing a military parade at Amasia, he remarks that, 'in all that great assembly no single man owed his dignity to anything but his personal merits and bravery; no one is distinguished from the rest by his birth, and honour is paid to each man according to the nature of the duty and offices which he discharges', Ogier Chislain de Busbecq, Turkish Letters, trans. by E. S. Forster, Introduction by Philip Mansel (London: Sickle Moon Books, 2001), p. 149.

[5] John Foxe, ed. by Josiah Pratt, and John Staughton, *The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe* (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1877), 8 vols., Vol. 5, p. 24.

playing out of events in history is perceived as conditioned by a recurrent pattern of intra-dynastic rivalry and murder, a pattern Foxe himself in *Acts and Monuments* traces back to the disrupted kinship of the sons of Abraham.

We saw in Chapter Four, above, that the Ottoman system of absolute subordination of civil and military personnel to the sultan was seen as one of slavery. John Withers, translating the Venetian Ottaviano Bon, for example, writes that:

> All they which are in the Serraglio, both men and women, are the Grand Signior's slaves, and so are all they which are subject to his Empire: for, as hee is their onely Soveraigne, so they doe all of them acknowledge, that whatsoever they doe possess or enjoy, proceedeth meerely and simply from his goodwill and favour.[6]

The concept of the 'slave' is however one that needs careful consideration in the Ottoman context, particularly in relation to the functioning of the palace at Constantinople. In this context where private ownership of property was impossible, 'slavery' did not necessarily entail servitude. As Anderson notes:

> Once all landed property was a prerogative of the Porte, it ceased to be degrading to be the human property of the Sultan: 'slavery' was no longer defined by opposition to 'liberty', but by proximity of access to the Imperial command.[7]

As we have seen, the architecture and ceremonial of the palace were designed precisely to accentuate this privilege of access for the sultan's personal attendants; in keeping with this, western writers of the early modern period do not stress the sufferings of the palace slaves, reserving their pity for Christians in the Ottoman lands, for whom the indignity of living under Muslim rule is itself seen as a form of slavery.

The western perception of the Ottoman system as one of servitude is bound up with a misunderstanding of the symbolics of space in the Seraglio at Constantinople. As Leslie Peirce has suggested, the palace system was one that reserved privilege, wealth, and opportunities for advancement to those permitted intimacy with the sultan, attaching prime importance to proximity to the source of power. The hierarchy of access to the sultan, which governed the layout of the various Courts of the Seraglio, meant that those

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[6] 'The Grand Signior's Seraglio: Written by Master Robert Withers', in Samuel Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimes, in Five Bookes* (London, 1625), Book One, Part Nine, Chapter Fifteen, Rrrrrrr 1 v.
[7] Perry Anderson, p. 367. Subsequent references are in the text.

closest to him, perhaps the most obviously enslaved, were paradoxically most influential and respected.[8]

The image of the Turkish slave was a definitive one in the development of political thought from the later seventeenth century, leading to a codification of types of rule that emphasised the servitude of the Turkish populace as a whole, making the Ottoman system the proto-type for a specifically Asiatic exercise of power. The crucial development in this process of cementing the distinction between European and Asiatic models of rule comes with Montesquieu's *L'Esprit des lois* (1748), which established firm criteria for distinguishing oriental, and specifically Turkish, political forms from those of the west. As Anderson notes, the key element for Montesquieu was the property system and the arbitrary exercise of power to which it gave rise (p. 399). Using climate as his means of establishing the particularity of the Asiatic political system, Montesquieu broadened his political observations to characterise the whole of Asian society as servile; as Franco Venturi has summarised it, 'the transformation of men into instruments of the will of the despot'.[9]

The emergence of Montesquieu's theory of oriental despotism marks a clear epochal divide from the early modern period, in which Ottoman rule is thought of as tyrannical rather than despotic. The distinction between the two modes of political thought is perhaps less than absolute, and Lucette Valensi has suggested some ways in which features considered characteristic of the later mode are anticipated in Venetian materials from the sixteenth century.[10] A crucial difference however is to be found in the degree of system which the discourses afforded, for the parameters of tyranny were never prescribed with the precision Montesquieu achieved for despotism, nor was tyranny ascribed a predictable geographic distribution by early modern writers. Aslı Çirakman, in a careful response to Valensi's work, has characterised the shift as follows:

> 'Despotism' implied a theory of society and a rational analysis of the intellectual and moral capacity of Orientals. It suggested a static and slavish society, a backward and corrupt polity,

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[8] Leslie P. Peirce, *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman* Empire (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 9. Drawing on a discussion by Bernard Lewis, Peirce notes the profound difference of metaphors of Ottoman power from western models: ' power relationships [...] are represented by spatial division more horizontal than vertical [...]: instead of moving *up*, one moves *in* toward greater authority' [italics original].

[9] Franco Venturi, 'Oriental Despotism', *JHI*, 24 (1963), 133-142, p. 135.

[10] Valensi, Lucette, *The Birth of the Despot: Venice and the Sublime Porte*, trans. Arthur Denner (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993), p. 99.

> with arbitrary and ferocious rulers governing servile and timid subjects. In contrast, the concept of tyranny had neither been used to indicate a geographical regime nor presumed to define the constant features of a people and society. It was a term designed to depict the behavioural pattern of some vicious rulers.[11]

In aiming to provide a totalising account of the distinctive exercise of power in the orient, the theory of despotism thus marks an epoch in the history of western constructions of cultural difference, describing a mentality that was geographically specific, and whose province extended across the entire socio-political field. This mentality of despotism/servitude maps exactly onto the regime and technology that Said has identified as constituting orientalism. Interestingly, what Said describes as a western generalisation applicable across widely differing orients with relatively little nuance, is in fact an elaboration of what were perceived to be conditions in Turkey, an origin not acknowledged by Said's discussion of images of the Arabs and Islam. [12]

Addressing the question of what early modern writers mean when they discuss tyrannous rule, Aslı Çirakman offers the following broad definition:

> In the sixteenth century, a tyrant was defined as an absolute and arbitrary ruler who disregarded private ownership of property; whose rule was unlawful, impious and unjust; and who employed persons of low or unknown birth rather than nobles for higher offices. (p. 55)

This definition is well-framed for the canon of works about the Turks, which is marked by a variety of usages clustered around notions of cruelty, excess and impiety. In a helpful discussion, W. A. Armstrong notes a division between what we might call 'hard' and 'soft' senses of tyranny in sixteenth century writings. Citing Charron's *Of Wisdom*, Armstrong offers the following bi-partite definition of the tyrant: 'The Prince is a tyrant and wicked, either in the entrance, or the execution of his government.'[13] Glossing the first of these two, Charron continues, 'if in the entrance, that is to say, that he treacherously invadeth, and by his owne force and powerfull authority gaines the soveraignty without any right'. Only the usurping Prince may be called a tyrant in this

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[11] Aslı Çirakman, 'From Tyranny to Despotism: The Enlightenment's Unenlightened Image of the Turks', *International journal of Middle East Studies*, 33 (2001), 49-68, p. 56.
[12] Perry Anderson, p. 462, describes despotism as 'a conceptual generalization of the complex of traits initially discerned or confined to the Porte'.
[13] Cited in W. A. Armstrong, 'The Elizabethan Conception of the Tyrant', *RES*, 22 (1946), 161-81, p. 166.

'hard' sense. Charron's second definition of tyranny, the 'soft' sense of a ruler who is 'wicked in [...] the execution of his government' is the one that is usually intended where writers refer to the Turks as tyrannous. Primaudaye, in the *French Academie*, again cited by Armstrong, expands on this version of tyranny as:

> When the prince accounteth all his will as a just law, and hath no care either of piety, justice, or faith, but doth al things for his owne private profit, revenge, or pleasure.[14]

In order to preserve a distinction between the 'hard' sense of tyranny as usurped rule, and the many looser usages, careful writers about political theory such as Bodin and Machiavelli avoid calling the Turks tyrannical.[15] Perhaps reflecting this sense of tyranny as a complex concept, some writers considered in this thesis, such as Carr and Newton in their translations of major European oriental histories, and the author of the anonymous *Policy of the Turkish Empire* (1597), are sparing in their use of the term. The Turks, seen as usurping and illegitimate in the context of accounts of their origins and accession to power, appear in the more pragmatic discussion as implicitly well-founded and legitimate if only by dint of long establishment.

In so far as the writers we have surveyed in this thesis do employ notions of tyranny to describe the Turk, they do so remarkably heterogeneously, as a brief survey of earlier citations will show. Beginning with Part One, we note that Hugh Goughe, in his translation of Georgiewitz, uses tyranny merely to mean 'non-Christian':

> Within these thre hundred yeares, to the great domage, and utter decay almost of Christes infallible religion, the great Turkes power, and Empire hath spredde it selfe so farre, that at this instant, are subiecte to his cruell tyrannye, above foure and thirty famous nations which in times paste have ben christened.[16]

The Frontispiece to Sandys's *Relation of a Journey*, which we discussed above in Chapter Two, identifies tyranny with the neglect of law, depicting Sultan Ahmet I, *sive tyrannus*, standing atop the broken scales of justice.[17] In a paradoxical formulation, Jovius, whom

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[14] Armstrong, p. 168.
[15] Çirakman, p. 50.
[16] Goughe, A4 r.
[17] Reproduction precedes Chapter Two, above.

we also considered in Chapter Two, associates tyranny, not with excessively strong rule, but with its absence under primitive nomadism:

> [The Turks] never had any one heade or cheyfe ruler amongst theym, but devided theym selves into several companies of horsmen [...] and so lyke tyrauntes possessed that large and ample regyon mooste cruelly.[18]

In Chapter Three, we saw that Marlowe employed ideas of the tyrannical in a more familial sense, as in Callepine's heavily ironised reaction to Tamburlaine's murder of his own son: 'Thou shewest the difference twixt our selves and thee/In this thy barbarous damned tyranny.[19] To add a further citation, an early seventeenth century translation of letters allegedly written by Mehmet II associates tyranny primarily with the verbal bluster noted in Chapter Four as characteristic of western representations of letters by the Turkish rulers: 'I deny not', writes the anonymous author of the Preface, 'but this witty and concise kind of speech [...] doth savour very much of tyranny'.[20]

Turning to Part Two of the thesis however, we note in literature concerned with the Seraglio the emergence of a notion of tyrannical Turkish royal space. Edward Grimestone's translation of Baudier's *Histoire générale du sérail* promised an insight into the tyranny of the sultan as one of the benefits to the reader of his imagined walking-tour through the palace:

> I hope you will give it acceptance and countenance it for your own, where you may at your best leisure (without any labour, travell, or expences) enter into the great Turk's Seraglio or Court, and there take a survey of the life, lusts, revenues, power, government, and tyranny of the great Ottoman.[21]

Shakespeare's deployment is equally bound up with ideas of the palace as tyrannical space:

> *War.* My Lord, I found the Prince in the next room,

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[18] Peter Ashton, *A Shorte Treatise upon the Turkes Chronicles, compyled by Paulus Jovius byshop of Nucerne* (1546), A1 v.
[19] 'Tamburlaine Parts One and Two', ed. by David Fuller, Vol. 5 in *The Complete Works of Christopher Marlowe*, ed. by Roma Gill (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987-1998), 5 vols., 2.4.1.140-1.
[20] *The Turkes Secretorie, Conteining His Sundrie Letters Sent to Divers Emperours* (1607), Preface.
[21] Edward Grimestone, trans., *The history of the imperiall Estate of the Grand Seigneurs* [...] *Written in French by Michael Baudier* (1635), A3 v.

> Washing with kindly tears his gentle cheeks,
> With such a deep demeanour in great sorrow,
> That tyranny, which never quaff'd but blood,
> Would, by beholding him, have wash'd his knife
> With gentle eye-drops.[22]

The movement from a discourse that featured heterogeneous and occasional references to tyranny to one conditioned by an organised concept of despotism was influenced not only by a new theorisation of Turkish power in the eighteenth century, but by material changes within the Ottoman Empire itself. Montesquieu's image of ineffective, self-indulgent rulers presiding over a servile populace was predicated upon Ottoman decline, a process Ottomanist historians trace to a variety of causes, including the succession of weak sultans from the late sixteenth century, a weakening of the office of Grand Vizier, financial and administrative difficulties, and a general inability of the state to adapt to changing circumstances outside Turkey.[23] Writings before 1650 bear traces of a sense of waning Turkish power, destined to collapse, and Valensi finds evidence for this sentiment in Venetian reports as early as 1570.[24] Particularly suggestive in relation to the later development of political theory is the emphasis on the servility of subjects that Valensi finds emerging in Venetian writings towards the end of the sixteenth century, the sense that subordinates are 'caught in the grip of fear because the sultan is the master of their property and their lives' (p. 74).[25]

If perceptions of Ottoman decline form one major strand in the development of the image of the Ottoman sultan as oriental despot, the other is a significant change in the way the Seraglio is represented, as writers come to focus more heavily than hitherto on the weaknesses of the sultans, and on the effect of their seclusion upon the day-to-day conduct of rule. Valensi, describing the first Venetian chroniclers of Ottoman decline, notes the way they tend to present this process as 'the transformation of the victorious prince into a

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[22] *The Norton Shakespeare*, ed. by Stephen Greenblatt, Walter Cohen, Jean E. Howard and Katherine Eisaman Maus, (New York: W. W. Norton, 1997), *2 Henry IV*, 4.5.82-7.

[23] See for example Halil Inalcık, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age, 1300-1600,* trans. by Norman Itkovitz and Colin Imber (New York: Praeger Publications, 1973), pp. 47 ff.; Stanford J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, 2 vols., Vol. 1, 'Empire of the Gazis: The Rise and Decline of the Ottoman Empire, 1280-1808' (Cambridge 1976, 1997), pp. 169 ff. Historians generally posit an unequal curve for decline, with the more successful reigns of Ahmet I (1603-1617), and in particular the reformist Murat IV (1623-1640), partially reversing the trend. For a more purely economic analysis of decline, see Perry Anderson, p. 378.

[24] Valensi, pp. 79-81.

[25] Valensi, p. 17, argues that Venetian writers' acknowledgement of a decline in Turkey clearly bear an antiphonal relationship to a growing sense of the decline of Venice itself towards the end of the sixteenth century, particular among the reformist group known as the *giovani*. Subsequent references are in the text.

man of the palace', as if the space of the palace were itself a drain on the energies of the ruler (p. 71).

What was lost in the transformation of the Seraglio image was the sense so clearly evident in the early modern works on the Seraglio discussed above, of the palace as the embodiment of a working system of rule. Denuded of this depth of understanding, writers gravitated towards an account of Ottoman power that was at once superficial and lurid, giving rise to pornographic and sentimental but also rigidly xenophobic ways of imagining the Turks that persisted into the twentieth century. The re-fashioning of the image of the Seraglio is marked by a tendency, increasing from the late seventeenth century, to concentrate on the Harem, and specifically on its sensual aspects, to the exclusion of other elements of the complex palace system. Whereas the crimes and intrigues of the Seraglio in the early modern literature are tied to a sense of the vigorous evil of a powerful empire, the later image is essentially one of impotence and irrelevance. To borrow a distinction drawn by Valensi in relation to the Venetian diplomatic literature, the Ottoman Empire comes to be seen as a 'sick man' rather than a 'monster'.[26]

Ruth Yeazell, in *Harems of the Mind*, has charted the development of the imaginary of the harem, from Racine's *Bajazet* (1672) and Rycaut's *History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (1675), through Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's *Turkish Embassy Letters* (1716-18, published 1763), up to the apotheosis of nineteenth century romantic orientalism in paintings by Ingres and Delacroix.[27] Yeazell traces the western fantasy of the Harem as the embodiment of the oriental to a false etymology which made the Italian *serrare*, 'to lock up', the root of *seraglio*.[28] The word properly has its root in the Turkish *saray*, 'palace', but in the western inflection, seclusion, and specifically the seclusion of the Harem women, becomes the defining feature of the whole institution. The emphasis on withdrawal in turn gives rise to Enlightenment and Romantic period writers' stress on the 'eventlessness' (p. 9) of the Seraglio, of Turkey and the whole Orient. Central to the shaping of this fantasy is a visual trope that draws the reader of a text or viewer of a painting into the heart of the secluded space. The observer's presence is

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[26] Lucette Valensi, 'The Making of a Political Paradigm: The Ottoman State and Oriental Despotism', in Anthnoy Grafton and Ann Blair, eds., *The Transmission of Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990), p. 193.
[27] Ruth Bernard Yeazell, *Harems of the Mind: Passages of Western Art and Literature* (New Haven, CT, 2000).
[28] See also Gülrü Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (New York: Architectural History Foundation, 1991), p. 182.

typically erased within classic orientalist Harem representation, so that forbidden access becomes the key trope in an imaginary which makes it appeal to the male reader or viewer on the basis of an escapist promise of unique sexual access to the Harem women, uninterrupted by worldly business, and unimpeded by rival men.[29] The incarceration of the women gave rise to a vision of the Harem as part brothel, part prison, in a way that rendered questions of political engagement irrelevant (pp. 60-64).

The static quality of these representations, which owes so much to the pornographic impulse that lies behind them, connects these later Harem images to the claims of comparative political theory from the mid eighteenth century onwards. Montesquieu, in claiming that 'The laws, customs and manners of the Orient [...] remain the same today as they were a thousand years ago'[30] presented an orient of sluggish traditionalism, in which all forces of dynamism in politics and culture are atrophied by an immemorial decadence and debility. This was a perception sustained and developed over the next century and a half across a range of kinds of writing.

Flaubert, in a more lyrical vein, expresses much the same sentiment when in a letter from Egypt he describes the dancing of *kücük hanem* as evoking an orient 'always young because nothing ever changes there'.[31] In a key passage at the start of *Orientalism*, Said cites this rendering of *küçük hanem*, arguing that it exemplifies the coercive nature of western writings about the east, as against the view that such texts reflect any real exchange between cultures:

> There is very little consent to be found [...] in the fact that Flaubert's encounter with an Egyptian courtesan produced an influential model of the Oriental woman; she never spoke of herself, she never represented her emotions, presence or history. *He* spoke for her and represented her. He was foreign, comparatively wealthy, male, and these were historical facts of domination that allowed him not only to possess Kuchuk Hanem physically but to speak for her and tell his readers in what way she was 'typically oriental'. Kuchuk Hanem was not an isolated instance. It fairly stands for the pattern of relative

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[29] Yeazell argues this centrality of erotic looking in analyses of literary texts such as Byron's 'Don Juan' and visual texts such as Ingres's 'Le Bain Turc', *Harems of the Mind*, Part One. In Chapter Four, I suggested that Thomas Dallam's 'Diary' anticipates the later, eroticised image of the Seraglio. Subsequent references to Yeazell are in the text.

[30] Cited Perry Anderson, p. 464.

[31] Yeazell, p. 237.

> strength between East and West, and the discourse about the Orient that it enabled.[32]

While acknowledging the massive achievement of a history of domination whose ramifications have extended across so broad a range of fields of study, and into periods not specifically included in *Orientalism*, I must take issue with Said's claim that Flaubert's letter 'fairly stands' for the relationship of domination he describes. Said has crucially elided the fact that Egypt was under Ottoman domination when Flaubert visited it, and, along with it, the probable identity of *küçük hanem* (her name means 'little woman' in Turkish). Were she to speak of her history in the way Said wishes, she would speak of Ottoman rule in the region and era under discussion in *Orientalism* in a way that could not but complicate and qualify Said's overall thesis. What may seem a small omission in *Orientalism* in fact signals a much larger problem with Said as regards the inclusiveness of his project, one that I have addressed in my Introduction above, for Said's account of a western image of the east dominated by notions of decay and atrophy, while true to the data he deploys, is fundamentally bound up with traditions devoted to the representation of Ottoman despotism and Ottoman decline. The excision of this vital source in my view seriously undermines the validity of his project as a whole.

This comes home with particular irony in what is probably the incidental detail of the cover design for the paperback of the 1995 Penguin edition of *Orientalism*. The image chosen is 'A Guard with a Zither Player', a typical example of nineteenth century romantic orientalist kitsch by the French-Austrian painter Ludwig Deutsch (1855-1935). The image, depicting an armed black guard (perhaps a eunuch) standing over a musician seated outside a closed door, at first seems one of generalised exoticism. The details however – the musician's turban, the carpet on which he is seated, the hookah on the table at the left hand extreme of the picture, and the decoration of the room – are all Ottoman. In unpacking such a stereotyped image of the east, it is surely necessary to identify the setting and context, and to address the specificity of its cultural meaning. In failing to do so, Said in a sense risks repeating the effacement of the orient's identity of which he accuses Flaubert. For in shaping his project so as to address both the period and region of Ottoman rule, but without reference to the Ottoman presence Said has substituted the general for the particular, and evaded the awkward question of non-Western imperialism.

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[32] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (Reprinted with a new Afterword by the Author, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1995), p. 6.

Conclusion

Who are the Turks?

A pivotal achievement of Mustapha Kemal Atatürk as he attempted in the early 1920s to forge a state from the remnant of the defeated Ottoman Empire was to develop a myth of the Turks as a people. The leader's very name, 'Turkish father', testifies to a bid for legitimation for the emerging nation, identifying a territory of the world's last great non-national state as the *habitus* of a tribe that was to form a new nation. Atatürk was doing no more than had been done by the great nineteenth century movements of nationalist liberation, and indeed by the national units against which they struggled, in processes which serve to highlight the essentially volitional character of ethnic self-identification. It is nevertheless worth stressing the problematic nature of the idea of the 'Turk' in the twentieth century beccause the earlier, non-national usage has been insufficiently appreciated by recent English-language commentators. Perhaps influenced by the modern sense of 'Turk' as an ethnic-national signifier, recent writers have typically regarded its early modern use as one characterised by 'slippage' or confusion.[1] The first of three research findings to which I wish to draw attention in this thesis Conclusion is the clarification of early modern understandings of 'Turk' as a dynastic and religious signifier.

I argued in Chapter One that there is no contradiction in early modern collocations such as 'Turkish Mahomet' and 'Turkish Alcoran' or indeed 'Turkish Ishmael': they are consistent with a fully-worked out understanding of history bounded by concepts of origin. Early modern writers reject the terms 'Musselman' and 'Islami' on serious theological grounds, as signifying respectively 'a true believer', and 'men of one mind, or at peace among themselves', claims which they dispute, or at least resent.[2] The Islamic world is imagined as a grouping defined by political and military purpose, diverse, but bound by unities. Within this economy, the crimes of aboriginal upstart founders, whether the Biblical Ishmael, the anonymous Scythians, or the Tartarian Ottoman, form a paradigm for the ascent

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[1] See Barbara Fuchs, *Mimesis and Empire: the New World, Islam, and European Identities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 167, *n* 2; Nabil Matar, *Islam in Britain, 1558-1685* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 21.

[2] Anon., *Here after followeth a lytell treatyse agaynst Mahumet and his cursed Secte* (c. 1530), Ch. 4; Richard Knolles, *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* (1603), A5 r.

of various peoples who, coming up from nothing, have aspired to world power. The Turks, as the latest and most powerful in this succession, thus give their name to the entire phenomenon we now call Islamic. 'Turk' thus straddles two distinct but interlocking fields of reference, suggesting both a religious commitment and practice, and a specific exercise of power by a single dynasty. Neither use has much to do with 'nation'.

For the Ottomans themselves, 'Turk' was a pejorative term for a Muslim-born Anatolian cultivator, a despised subordinate to the ruling caste of bureaucrats and military men. This ruling caste was Ottoman only in virtue of the fact that it served the Ottoman dynasty. It too had its unifying myth of origin, but it was the myth of a family rather than of a nation, and the composition of the Ottoman ruling caste was irreducibly multi-ethnic. Indeed, Muslim-born Anatolians were excluded from high office during the Ottoman classical period, precisely in order to eliminate those disruptive ties of kinship whose absence was so remarked by writers such as the ones I cited in Chapter Seven.

Issues of Turkish ethnicity are raised in a recent discussion of Turkish origins from the perspective of current Ottoman scholarship that has considerable pertinence for this thesis, Cemal Kafadar's *Between Two Worlds*.[3] Rejecting the ethonymic use of 'Turk', Kafadar warns against the too easy acceptance of myths of ethnic unity fashioned within nineteenth and early twentieth century nationalist projects, in which:

> Ethnic or national unities [...are] conceptualised as an original stock and descendants going through a linear series of adventures in time and, along the way, clashing with other original stocks and descendants going through a similarly linear series of adventures. (p. 27)

Instead of proceeding according to this 'genetic fallacy', Kafadar suggests that the history of a term like 'Turk' is best addressed by the attempt to 'systematically historicise it, and confront its plasticity' (p. 26). The main point of reference for his discussion at this point is the pioneering work in modern Ottoman history of scholars like Paul Wittek and Mehmet Köprülü, who brought to their studies of the early historiography of the Ottomans what Kafadar views as an unduly positivist approach to the connection between *ethnos* and blood-

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[3] Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1995). Subsequent references are in the text.

line. For such writers, argues Kafadar, 'tribalism entailed consanguinity; that is, a tribe would in essence have to be composed of blood relations whose ancestry ought to be traceable to a common origin' (p. 37).

Kafadar's objections to the genetic approach are particularly challenging in relation to early modern constructions of the Turks, because those objections are so much bound up with notions of lineage, and with the personalised image of origin embodied by the mythical Ottoman.[4] In this thesis, I have tracked the signifier 'Turk' across a range of materials covering the diverse areas of Biblical exegesis, history writing, cosmography, diplomatic observation, and drama, together with one visual text. In each case, what has emerged is the sense of a cultural imaginary poised between past and present manifestations of Turkish power that emerge as mutually illuminating, and even implicit in one another. The materials explored in Part One testify principally to a sense of outrage at the emergence of Turkish power. Knolles, for example, observes that:

> The glorious Empire of the Turkes, the present terrour of the world, hath amongst other things nothing in it more wonderfull or strange, than the poore beginning of it selfe so small and obscure, as that it is not well knowne unto themselves, or agreed upon even among the best writers of their histories, from whence this barbarous nation that now so triumpheth over the best part of the world, first crept out or tooke their beginning.[5]

Accounts of the 'originall' of Turkish power are thus engaged in the attempt to cross an unbridgeable gap between present experience and the distant past. In attempting to imagine what sort of origin would be appropriate for the Turks, they deploy long-established patterns of alterity, drawing on Biblical writings and classical historiography to fashion an appropriate location for the 'creeping out' of the Turks. The wilderness of Haran, into which Ishmael was cast in Genesis, and the bare mountains of the Caucasus are deployed, not out of antiquarian interest, but as analogues for the present exercise of Turkish power. As with Foxe's

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[4] Anthony D. Smith, 'The Origins of Nations', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 12 (1989), 340-67, p. 344, stresses the role of personal foundation myths in the process of 'cultural differentiation'. This being the case, it is perhaps worth stressing that the European accounts of the life of Ottoman entered European historiography, via Greek historians of the conquest of Constantinople, from Ottoman Court chronicles, see Steven Runciman, ;Byzantine Historians and the Ottoman Turks', in Bernard Lewis, and P. M. Holt, eds., *Historians of the Middle East* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 274.

[5] Richard Knolles, *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* (1603), B1 r.

interpretation of the 'constitution of times' in *Acts and Monuments*, discussed in Chapter One, past and present are seen as radically interlinked.

A resonant example of the application of narratives of the ancient to modern times occurs in Ralph Carr's *The Mahumetane or Turkish Historie*, in which the life of Mehmet II, 'the Conqueror', is fashioned as a variation of standard biographies of the Prophet Muhammad such as those I discussed in Chapter One:

> This Mahumet proved in the ende, neither Musulman or Mahometist, for in his infancye hee was instructed in the christian faith, by his [...] mother, and after by others in the Turkish superstition, howbeit, whan he came to age, he cared neither for the one nor other.

What is true of Carr, is generally true of early modern writers about the Turks, who characteristically shape their account of the present realities of Turkish power in such a way as to provide echoes and recurrences of basic narratives of origin that inform the *histoire évènementielle* at every point.

My second conclusion, then, concerns the resilience of old knowledges about the Turks throughout the early modern period, an aspect of the 'old' sacral and classical geography whose survival into the age of Shakespeare has been charted by John Gillies.[6] The traveller Henry Blount, writing in 1636, vowed, in setting down the record of his travels:

> To observe the Religion, Manners, and policie of the Turkes, not perfectly, (which were a taske for an inhabitant rather than a passenger) but so farre forth, as might satisfie this scruple, (to wit) whether to an unpartiall conceit, the Turkish way appeare absolutely barbarous, as we are given to understand, or rather an other kinde of civilitie, different from ours, but no lesse pretending.[7]

Such ethnographic relativism is without precedent in the texts I have studied, and critics interested in addressing early modern writings about the Turks should be wary of neglecting the contours of a literature that is conditioned more by a sense of immemorial enmity than by 'unpartiall conceit'.

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[6] John Gillies, *Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 6.
[7] Sir Henry Blount, *A Voyage into the Levant* (1636), A2 v.

The final theme which I wish to draw out from my thesis is the importance of specific locales in the early modern imaginary of Turkish power, locales which in both the ancient and modern histories are closely bound up with lineage. Among the various textual kinds I have considered, representations of the Turks in drama are obviously the most important for literary critics; this field, whose surface I have only been able to scratch, has proved a fertile one. In my readings of *Tamburlaine* (Chapter Three) and *Mustapha* (Chapter Five), I argued for a more sensitive appreciation of eastern locations than has been the norm in recent criticism. In connection with *2 Henry IV* and *Epicoene* in Chapter Six, I gestured toward the interpretative riches that may follow the consideration even of peripheral dramatic references to the Turks alongside relevant material from historiography. With a corpus of over forty plays either set in Turkey or depicting Turkish characters, and a distribution of references *en passant* that probably covers most of the canon of surviving plays, questions concerning the representation of Turkish power in early modern drama constitute an exciting area for future study.

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